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ALPHA NU

Chap. 1

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HISTORY

OF THE

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GREEK REVOLUTION;

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

OF THE

GREEK GOVERNMENT;

SKETCHES OF THE WAR IN GREECE, BY PHILIP JAMES GREEN, ESQ.
LATE BRITISH CONSUL FOR PATRAS, IN GREECE; AND THE
RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF MR. BLAQUIERE, MR.
HUMPHREY, MR. EMERSON, COUNT PECCHIO,
RT. HON. COL. STANHOPE, THE
MODERN TRAVELLER,

AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY JOHN L. COMSTOCK, M. D.

ACCOMPANIED BY A

MAP OF GREECE, AND OTHER ENGRAVINGS.

New-York:

WILLIAM W. REED & CO..

.....
1828.

District of Connecticut, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-third day of July, in the fifty-third (L.S.) year of the Independence of the United States of America, D. F. ROBINSON & Co. of the said District, have deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:—"History of the Greek Revolution; compiled from official documents of the Greek Government; sketches of the war in Greece, by Philip James Green, Esq. late British Consul for Patras, in Greece; and the recent publications of Mr. Blaquiere, Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Emerson, Count Pecchio, Rt. Hon. Col. Stanhope, the Modern Traveller, and other authentic sources. By John L. Comstock, M. D. Accompanied by a Map of Greece, and other engravings." In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,"—And also to an act, entitled, "an act supplementary to an act, entitled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,

Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,

Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

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GREEK REVOLUTION.

CHAP. I.

Geographical Situation and Population of Greece.

THERE is some difficulty in prescribing the exact boundaries of the country properly called Greece. Formerly it included Macedonia, Peloponnesus, the Ionian Islands, Crete, and a part of what is now called Albania. D'Anville seems to have included under the title of Greece Proper, only the territory lying between Macedonia on the north, the Gulf of Corinth on the south, the Ionian sea on the west, and the Archipelago on the east. Within these boundaries are included Thessaly and Epirus on the north, together with the territory now known under the names of Eastern and Western Hellas, extending south as far as the Gulf of Lepanto, formerly called the Gulf of Corinth, and including Athens and Negropont, the latter formerly known by the name of Eubœa. The territory south of the Gulf of Lepanto, consisting of the provinces of Laconia, Messenia, Argolis, Achaia, Elis, and Arcadia, composed the Peloponnesus. In modern Maps, and in the books of modern travellers, this territory is known under the general name of Morea.

✶ The present divisions of Greece, adopted by the provisional government, are the following :

EASTERN HELLAS,
WESTERN HELLAS,
MOREA,
EPIRUS,
THESSALY,
MACEDONIA,
CRETE, AND THE ISLANDS.

Epirus and Thessaly may, however, be considered coming within the boundaries of Hellas, the former being situated at the southern extremity of Albania, and bounded on the west by the sea coast and the straits of Corcyra, Corfu, while Thessaly is situated between Macedonia and Eastern Hellas, being bounded on the east by the Ægean.

Sea and Gulf of Salonica. What proportion of Macedonia is considered as coming within the boundaries of Greece we have no means of deciding. A line due east and west from the northern extremity of the Thermaic Gulf, (Gulf of Salonica) to the mouth of the river Viossa, (the ancient Aous) would include, according to the recent maps, a considerable portion of that territory, while according to Anacharsis, Macedonia Proper is still entirely north of such a line.

A recent authority* includes Greece between lat. $36^{\circ} 15'$ and 40° N. and long. $20^{\circ} 10'$ and $24^{\circ} 5'$ E. being bounded on the north by Albania Proper and Macedonia, on the east by the *Ægean* Sea; on the west by the Ionian Isles; and on the south by the Mediterranean. These boundaries exclude the whole of Crete, or Candia, as well as Scio, Ipsara and many other Islands where the language of Greece is spoken, and which have long been, and still are, considered as Grecian Islands. Crete, according to the authority already cited, is embraced in the jurisdiction of the provincial government of Greece. The line of latitude ought therefore to be extended to 35° south, instead of $36^{\circ} 15'$, so as to include that Island. The western boundary being placed at 20° of longitude, includes a part of Corfu, and all the other Ionian Isles, which at present are not Grecian Islands and excludes a portion of Epirus which properly belongs to Greece, while the eastern line being drawn at $24^{\circ} 5'$ of longitude, includes a considerable population not recognized by the government of Greece, and excludes many Islands over which the government exercise jurisdiction. From these considerations, the difficulty of fixing any precise boundaries to those territories and Islands belonging to Greece will be obvious, and hence also the difficulty of estimating with any degree of certainty her population.

If we estimate the population of Greece before the commencement of the revolution, and include within her limits Crete on the south, Thessaly and Epirus in the north, her Eastern boundary being the Ionian Sea, and her Western the *Ægean* Sea, with the Islands over which the government claim jurisdiction, we shall find the number of inhabitants to be less than two millions.

* Modern Traveller.

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M. Beaujour concludes the total population of Greece to be 1,920,000, including Macedonia. The population of Macedonia he estimates at 700,000. This leaves 1,220,000 which he distributes as follows :

EPIRUS,	400,000
THESSALY,	300,000
ÆTOLIA, PHOCIS, AND BŒOTIA,	200,000
ATTICA,	20,000
MOREA,	300,000
	<hr/>
	1,220,000

This estimate is evidently defective, as it includes none of the islands. The estimate for the Morea is also probably much too low. Mr. Waddington estimates the population of the islands at 250,000. The Eastern and Western Hellas as he assigns 150,000 ; and to the Morea 500,000. Eastern and Western Hellas include Ætolia, Phocis, and Bœotia, which M. Beaujour estimates at 200,000. This is 50,000 more than the estimate of Mr. Waddington. In respect to the population of the Isles, Crete alone formerly contained nearly 300,000 inhabitants, of which not quite one half were Greeks. In this estimate we intend to include the actual population of the territories named, whether Greeks, Turks, Albanians, or Jews.

Mr. Hobhouse estimates that the population of Upper Albania may be one million two hundred thousand, of all ages and sexes.* He says, however, that Upper Albania is more populous than the country to the south of it. Lower Albania, which we include as belonging to Greece, under the name Epirus, cannot therefore be estimated so high.

"Of the exact population of Greece," says Mr. Emerson,† "no accurate statement has ever, I believe, been made. It has been estimated at different times, from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000, but whether this be correct, or whether it does not include the supposed Greek population in the Crimea, Palestine, Russia, and other parts of Europe, I cannot tell."

The reader will remark that the diversity of opinions on the population of Greece, by different writers, is sufficient to show the difficulty of coming near the truth on this subject. We will venture, however, to throw together the

* Hobhouse's Tour, vol. 1. p. 154.

† Emerson's Journal, p. 216.

lowing estimates, as coming from as authentic believe, as exist on this subject :

EASTERN & WESTERN HELLAS, .
MOREA,
CRETE & THE ISLANDS,
EPIRUS,
THESSALY,

Of this population, perhaps one third or a little more are Greeks, the other two thirds being Turks, Albanians and Jews. The following estimate is given on the authority of P. J. Green, Esq. for many years Consul at London.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PELOPONNESUS
IN 1823,

Showing the number of its Districts, Villages, Population, and the amount of Tithes farmed to individuals by the Government, the most authentic information.

Districts.	Villages and Hamlets, including the Capital of each District in possession of the Greeks.	Greek Population.	Tithes.
Mistra	180	48,000	
Monembasia . .	56	11,000	
San Pietro . . .	35	14,000	
Argos	38	16,000	
Napoli di Romania	31	17,000	
Kato Achaia . .	8	4,000	
Corinth	167	31,000	
Kalavrita . . .	152	33,000	
Vostizza	34	6,000	
Patras	88	14,000	
Gastouni	122	32,000	
Pyrgos	10	7,000	
Fanari	36	7,500	
Caritena	145	32,000	
Tripolizza . . .	64	30,000	
Londari	28	8,000	
Cuzuc Maina . .	8	2,600	

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Messenia	42	8,000	70,000
Calamata	10	7,500	70,000
Andrussa	25	7,000	38,000
Nisi	3	3,100	80,000
Coron	56	4,500	20,000
Modon	38	4,300	80,000
Navarin	25	6,000	
Arcadia	105	19,000	
Maina	96	35,000	2,764,300
	<hr/> 1602	<hr/> 407,000	<hr/> £61,418 ster
Fortresses in possession of the Turks.		Turkish Population.	
Patras	9,000	
Morea Castle	1,200	
Modon	4,500	
Coron	1,800	
		<hr/> 16,500	

The different names by which the places or divisions in Greece have been known, are often perplexing to the reader of her modern history. This is in part owing to the change of masters to which Greece has been subjected, and in part to the arbitrary selection of names by the different travellers who have visited that country. The ancient Greek names of places appear in many instances to be entirely unknown to the present inhabitants, or if known, as likely to be applied to a different place as to that to which it originally belonged. The more modern names are partly Venetian and partly Turkish. The different divisions of the country have also, in many instances, made it difficult to fix boundaries to any degree of certainty, the more modern divisions sometimes including some unknown parts of the ancient ones. Under the Turkish Government, the whole of Greece was divided into four great pachaliks, the names of which were derived from the several seats of government. They were Tripolizza, Egripo, (the present Negropont,) Yanina (*Ioannina*,) and Salonica. The pachalik of Tripolizza

prised all the Morea; that of Egripo, the whole of the Peloponnese, and a part of Phocis, and the whole of the Morea; that of Yanina included Epirus; and that of Salonica included the northern division of Macedonia.* The following will show the ancient and modern correspondences. We take it from the Modern Traveller, Part 1. of Greece, p. 26

The Morea, or Peloponnesus.

Ancient Divisions.	Venetian.	Turkish.	
Achaia, N.	Chiarenza.	Pachalik of Tripolizza.	Corinth
Argolis, N. E.	Sacania.		Napoli
Arcadia, Cent.			Tripoli
Laconia, S. E.	{ Zaccunia, or Maina.		Minstra
Messina, S. W.	{ Belvedere.		Navari
Elis, N. W.			Kala
			Pyrgos

Eastern Hellas.

	Modern.	
Attica.	Livadia.	Athens. Ma
Bœotia.		Livadia. T
Eubœa.		Egripo.
Locris.		Thermopy.
(Opuntii)		
Phocis.		Delphi, Su
Doris.		Gavria.
Locris.	Pachalik of Ioannina.	Salona.
(Ozolæ.)		

Western Hellas.

Ætolia.	Karl-ili.	Part of Pachalik of Ioannina.	Mitsi
Acarnania.†			

Epirus.—Albania.‡

Thesprotia.	Tzamouria.	Ioannina.	Artu
Molossia.	Ioannina.		Ioan
Chaonia.	Liapuria.		Chi
Thessaly.	Sanijak of Triccala.		Tric
Macedonia.	Pachalik of Salonica.		Sal

* See Thornton's Turkey, vol. 11. p. 10.

† Acarnania belongs to Epirus, in ancient geography in Western Hellas.

‡ Albania comprises part of Macedonia, Elyria, Chac Delvinachi is the frontier village of Epirus and Albania

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Greece is bounded on all sides by the sea, except on north, where it is bounded by Macedonia and Upper Albania. Thessaly and Epirus are its most northern provinces. The latter is surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains. On north is the celebrated Olympus; Ceta is on the south, Ossa on the east, and Pindus on the west. These mountains enclose a pleasant fertile valley. The Pindus extends to the north and south (under different names) through the whole extent of ancient Greece, terminating south, at Corinthian Gulf, (Gulf of Lepanto.) It thus divides Epirus from Thessaly, and Etolia from Phocis and Boeotia; separates what are now termed Eastern, from Western Greece. The branches of this mountain at about latitude 38° separate, and run east and west quite across the continent. The branch running east, (the Ceta) terminates at the Malæic Gulf, forming the celebrated pass of Thermopylæ. The branch running west, called the Makrinoro, divides Acarnania from the south, from Epirus on the north, and terminates at the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Arta, (the ancient Ambracia.) Ancient Greece is thus divided into four unequal quarters, by high and often inaccessible mountains.

The Boeotian plains terminate to the north-west in the valley of Phocis and Doris, watered by the Cephissus, and its branches, which have their origin in Mount Ceta. This valley separates the mountains that rise from the Gulf of Corinth, and which anciently bore the names of Helicon, Corax, Parnassus, &c. from the mountains of Locris, ancient Callidromus and Cnemis, which are a prolongation of Mount Ceta, and the northern face of which looks down on the valley of the Spercheus and the Malæic Gulf. The two ranges are united in the region of the Peloponnesus, and from their junction, the central chain of Pindus continues in a N. or N. N. E. direction, gradually inclining towards the coast of the Adriatic, and giving off collateral branches which intersect Albania. For about a hundred miles, this elevated range is nearly equi-distant from the eastern and western coasts.

In Western Greece, a series of plains and valleys lie between Mount Pindus and the irregular range which borders the entire extent of the western and southern coast, at some distance from the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Arta, (the ancient Ambracia,) which divides Epirus from Acarnania, rises a steep, woody mountain, now called Makr

(or Makronoros, the long Mountain,) which constitutes a pass of great strength and importance, corresponding to that of Thermopylæ at the eastern end of the Œtean range, and completing the barrier between Eastern and Western Greece. To the north of this ridge rises the vast and apparently insulated mass called Tzumerka;* and still loftier mountains, rising to the N. E. and N. of this, divide the valley of the Aractus or river of Arta, from that of the Aspropotamo (the ancient Achelous.) These mountains are commonly known under the name of Agrafa: as seen from the elevated plain of Ioannina, they appear to fill up, in the distance, the interval between the Tzumerka and the narrow and lofty ridge called Metzoukel, which separates the plain of Ioannina from the deep valley of the Aractus. Immediately beyond the river commences the ascent of a lofty group, the successive ridges of which conduct the eye to summits, supposed to be not less than 7000 feet above the level of the sea. These mountains, which now bear the name of the Greater Metzovo, are apparently the very nucleus of the chain of Pindus. The town of Metzovo is situated near one of the sources of the river Arta, in the bosom of these Alpine regions, and forms one of the most interesting geographical points in the country. From this part of the chain of Pindus, four considerable rivers take their rise, each pursuing its course to the sea in a different direction. These are, the Aractus, which flows in a south-westerly direction into the Gulf of Arta; the Achelous, which rises at no great distance, and takes a southerly course through a mountainous district, entering the Ionian Sea near Missolonghi; the Peneus (or Ælympria,) which, rising on the eastern side of that part of Pindus immediately above Metzovo, descends into the great plains of Thessaly, and pursues its course to the Archipelago through the precipitous defiles of Tempe; and lastly Viosa (Vioussa,) or Aous, which has its origin in the mountains to the north of Metzovo, and flowing in a N. E. direction to Tepeleni, enters the Adriatic near the site of ancient Appolonia.

One of the principal routes over Pindus, in proceeding from the western coast, lies through the canton of Parga, in which one of the branches of the river Arta has its source, forming its junction with the Metzovo branch.

* Supposed by Dr. Holland to be the ancient Tomarion.

deep hollow between Metzoukel and Pindus. The Zagora mountains are distinguished from most other parts of the Pindus chain by their summits spreading out into wide and open plains, instead of forming narrow ridges. Beyond Metzovo, in the same direction, is the ridge of Mavronoros, or the Black Mountain ; and still further northward are the mountains of Tzebel and Samarina, which are believed to be among the most elevated points in Albania. The chain continues to run northwards, dividing Illyricum from Macedonia till it unites with the mountains that enclose the basin of the Danube.

The upper ridge of Pindus, near Metzovo, appears to be composed entirely of serpentine. The exposed surface of the rock is every where covered with a yellowish green steatite, generally disposed in a sort of scales upon the serpentine, which is probably superposed upon primitive slate.—The ridge intervening between the plains of Ioannina and the valley of the Aracthus, exhibits a series of layers of calcareous slate, apparently of recent formation, interrupted at intervals by rocks of limestone, which come down in abrupt cliffs to the channel of the stream. This limestone probably forms the basis of all the country westward of the river of Arta, and is the material also of the lower part of the Pindus chain on the eastern side. The bed of the river, however, and the channels of the streams which join it from the east, contain fragments of syenite, porphyry, and serpentine, and sometimes mica-slate, jasper, and conglomerate rock, indicating that the more central parts of Pindus are composed in part of primitive formations. In the valley of the Salympria, there is a most remarkable group of insulated rocks composed entirely of a conglomerate, consisting of granite, gneiss, mica-slate, chlorite-slate, syenite, greinstone, and quartz pebbles. The origin of this formation, which is of a very limited extent, presents an interesting problem to the geologist. Limestone, however, is the prevailing rock, for the most part cavernous, and with abrupt and precipitous faces. The whole chain of Œta, in particular, appears to belong to the great calcareous formation of Greece. The general appearance of the limestone strikingly corresponds to that in the north of Ireland ; its colour, in general, is nearly milk white : it contains a great quantity of flint, either in layers or in nodules ; and large deposits of gypsum have

taken place upon it, particularly near the coasts of the Adriatic and Ionian seas. The Scironian rocks on the southern coast of the Isthmus consist of breccia, lying as in Attica, and over all the northern part of the Morea, on a stratum of limestone. In Thessaly, the limestone gives way to the serpentine breccia called *verde antico*; and that curious aggregate of dark diallage and white feldspar, called by Italian lapidaries *bianco e nero antico*, is found in Macedonia. Other varieties of porphyry occur also in Thrace, particularly one of hornblende, resembling lava, in the great plain of Chouagilarkir, near the foot of the Karowlan mountains, a branch of the ancient Rhodope. But in Hellas Proper, with the exception above mentioned, to which may be added the breccia formation around Mycenæ, and the substratum of the rock of the Acropolis at Athens, the mountains so uniformly consist of limestone, that scarcely any other substance can be met with.*

The most fertile districts of Grece are Macedonia, Thessaly, and the eastern parts of Phocis and Bœotia.† The agricultural produce of Attica, owing to the lightness of soil, is confined to barley and olives. The Morea is said to be susceptible of every species of cultivation.‡ The r

* These geological observations are taken chiefly from Pausanias's Travels in the Ionian Isles, &c. and Doctor Clark's part ii.

† " Marathon, forgotten in every other respect, is now regarded, as it was before its glory, for being the granary of Attica. . . . Pindus and Ceta. with their various branches practicable to the Albanian husbandman; though in the valleys that intersect them, we may be secure of always finding with its surrounding fields of maize or cotton."—*Douglas*

‡ The corn of the Morea has long been highly prized in islands, and its culture is proportionably extensive. Its wheat, however, is not so much esteemed, and its Indian corn has never been exported. The peninsula is by no means a country for wheat, a portion of its consumption being imported from the Arcadian species, however, are admired by the Greeks; the wheat of St. George in Corinth. Both are only of a light quality, and require a disagreeable flavour from the turpentine which they contain when purified. The grapes are neither large nor of fine flavour, but produced at Gastouni. One species, however, the Zante currant, has been extensively cultivated on the Gulf of Lepanto and Salamis, where it has extensive plantations. Other fruits are likewise produced, lemons, not large nor peculiarly fine; oranges, figs, lamata, peaches, pomegranates, apricots, aln

tainous region of Epirus is the most barren. Thessaly yields wool and silk ; and the soil of Macedonia is particularly favourable to tobacco : that of Yenige, on account of its balsamic odour, is preferred even to that of Latakia in Syria. Cotton also is extensively cultivated. But the principal wealth of Macedonia anciently consisted of its mines. The most celebrated were those of the mountain of Pangæus, from which Philip annually derived a thousand talents of gold ; and by means of the treasure thence extracted, he became the master of Greece. In the plain of Arta, one of the most fertile districts of Epirus, maize, wheat, rice, and tobacco, are cultivated ; the vineyards are numerous, and the orange tree and fig-tree are made objects of peculiar attention. The oak, the plane, and the chesnut, are the chief ornaments of the vallies ; and the vast precipices of the Pindus chain are clothed with forests of pines. The forests of the Morea are in some districts very extensive, especially in Elis and on the western coasts, which have long furnished oak and pine for the construction of the Hydriot vessels, and large quantities of vallonina for exportation to Zante and Malta.

The Morea, notwithstanding its susceptibility of cultivation, and its growth of forest trees, is still an exceedingly rough and mountainous country. Mr. Humphreys, who visited it in 1825, states, that with the exception of a few miles along the coast, it consists of hills piled one above the other ; and that in passing through Elis, Arcadia, and Argolis, he did not

shell fruit. The figs, especially those of Maina, are remarkable for their sweetness. The markets of Napoli di Romania are plentifully supplied with cucumbers, love-apples, spinach, asparagus, and other vegetables. Olives abound in every district, but especially in Maina and Argolis. Manna and indigo were formerly cultivated, but are now neglected, as well as the gathering of galls, which used to be found in every forest. Cotton was never grown in large quantities, but its quality was remarkably white and delicate. The culture of flax was but little known. The immense flocks of Argolis, Messenia, and the valleys of Arcadia, furnish a proportionate quantity of wool, the exportation of which to the Ionian Islands, together with the sheep themselves, and a little wine, constitutes the only remnant of the once extensive trade of Pyrgos." Large quantities of wax are still exported from Napoli to Syra. The barren and mountainous districts abound with beds of thyme, fennel, and mint ; but the honey of the Morea is decidedly inferior to that of Attica, and must be used with caution on account of its medicinal properties.—EMERSON'S *Journal in "Picture of Greece in 1825,"* p. 314—318.

meet with a level valley of more than a mile in circumference with a single exception of the little mountain plain of Tripolizza is situated.

The zoology of Greece, as far as known, does to furnish many distinct species. The lynx, the wild boar, the wild goat, the stag, the roe-buck, and the squirrel, inhabit the steeper rocks of the mountains and the thick pine forests above Callidia. The bear is sometimes found here. The rugged mountains and the valleys are frequented by wolves, foxes, and jackals. The marten is sometimes taken in the villages and out-houses. The otter is too numerous to be particularised. The marten is found in the rich ground of Livadia, (Bœotia) and the hare is found in the environs of Athens. The otter is found in the rivers and marshes of Bœotia, and the phoca and porpoise are seen in the Corinthian Gulf, and off the coast of Attica. The small species of bat flutters about the mountains of Athens, and a larger species inhabit the caverns of Didascalos.

The large vulture frequents the cliffs of Delphi and the woods and precipices of Parnassus. There are several species of the falcon tribe. Dr. Sibthorp particularly supposed to be the *falco chrysaetos* (called by the Greeks the *falco ierax*, and the *falco kirkenasi*. The kestrel is domestic, arrives early in the Spring with the storm, and in immense numbers, joint inhabitant with them of the temples of the Athenians, and retires with these at the end of August." He noticed also a large grey buzzard kind, on the plain of Marathon; another of a brown, with a white band on the wings, near Livadia, and a small dark hawk near Cape Sunium. The little sparrow (the *passerina*,) is the most common species of Greece; it abounds in the neighbourhood of Athens. The horned owl is sometimes, but rarely, seen. The eagle, the red-headed, and the small grey butcher-bird are found in the olive-grounds. Of the crow tribe, the raven, the jackdaw, the magpie, the jay, the magpie, and the Cornish chough, are found here. The raven usually confines itself to the mountainous parts, in

* *Taooshen*, here, is a nick-name given by the Turkish islanders.

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broken cliffs and caverns of Parnassus, but sometimes descends into the plains. The hooded crow, which is common in England during the summer, is a constant inhabitant. The roller frequents the gardens and olive groves. The cuckoo is heard early in the spring. The bee-eater, attracted by the bees of Hymettus, appears at the latter end of the summer. The *hoopoe* is also here a bird of passage. The *sitta* was seen on the rocks near Delphi. Woodpeckers abound in the rocks; and the turtle and wood-pigeon are found in the woods and thickets. The red-legged partridge abounds every where. Among the larks, the crested lark is the most frequent; but there are some of the other species. "Black-birds frequent the olive-grounds of Peania. The solitary sparrow inhabits the cliffs of Delphi; and the thrush is heard in the pine woods of Parnassus. In these, where the heights are covered with snow, the *emberiza nivalis*, inhabitant alike of the frozen Alps and the Grecian Alps. The bunting, the yellow-legged partridge, and a species of *emberiza* nearly related to it, have their haunts in the neighbourhood of corn-fields." The linnet ranks also among the Attic chorister. The *fringilla flaveola* is not unfrequent about Athens. Among the slender-billed birds, the wheatear is the most general throughout Greece, inhabiting alike the highest mountains and the lowest plains. The white water-wagtail frequents the banks of rivulets, and the red-start is found on the coast. The king-fisher is also seen here. Various species of the duck tribe visit the salt lakes and the shore during the winter, retiring in summer to more unfrequented fresh-water lakes and deep morasses. Woodcock, snipe, and bustards, in considerable numbers, visit the neighbourhood of Athens during winter. The curlew and the shank, the purple and the grey heron, the long-billed grebe, and the sand plover, also frequent the coast of Boeotia and the eastern coast. The privileged swallow annually arrives at Athens some time in March, and breeds when the young are able to support a long flight, in the middle of August. The quail is another annual visitor. The European species of the swallow tribe are few, except the *pratincola*; also, various species of the martin are confounded under the general name of *beccafica*. The martin burrows in the cliffs of Delphi, and the gull still retains its ancient name, and the stigma attacks

The storm-finch, the sea-gull, and the sea-swallow, are seen on the coast of the *Ægean Sea*.*

“One of the most agreeably diversified countries of the globe,” says M. Beaujour, who was long resident in it, “is Greece: it is the epitome of all climates. The plants which grow within the tropics, flourish in its plains and on its hills, and those of the most northern regions thrive on the mountains. Olympus, Pindus, Parnassus, the craggy mountains of Arcadia, preserve on their sides and summits a perpetual coolness, while the valleys lying at their feet enjoy a perennial spring. The lands unsusceptible of culture are still not destitute of vegetation, but produce spontaneously thyme, marjoram, and all the aromatic plants. Such a country would seem to be singularly adapted to yield rich pasture: accordingly, there are numerous herds. For six months of the year, indeed, it supports all those of the neighbouring regions. When the severity of the winter drives the Albanian shepherds from their native mountains, they descend to seek, in the fine climate of Greece, pastures more substantial and luxuriant. They enjoy the right of common in the lands which are not under cultivation; and notwithstanding the tyranny of the Beys, who levy contributions upon them without mercy, their winterings in general do them but little.”†

Nothing, it is said, can surpass the delicious temperature of the islands in autumn, and of the winter at Athens, the thermometer rarely descends below the freezing point. The longevity of the natives bears testimony to the salubrity of the air of Attica, which was always esteemed for it and is still the best in Greece. Its extreme dryness greatly contributed to the admirable preservation of the Athenian edifices. The corn in Attica is ripe about five days sooner than in the Morea and in Crete, or

* From the papers of the late Dr. Sibthorpe. Walpole, pp. 73—77; see also pp. 255—273.

† Beaujour. *Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce*, vol. i. number of sheep in Attica was computed, in 1786, at 60,000; at 100,000; and 10,000 goats and 5000 sheep were kept. “During the winter months,” says Dr. Sibthorpe, “they drive their flocks from the mountains of Thessaly into Attica and Bœotia, and give some pecuniary consideration to the Negropont and the Pæivode of Athens. These people are famous for their woollen manufactures, particularly the coats of the Greek sailors.”—*Walpole's Memoirs*, p. 141.

supposed, in part, to the abundance of nitre with which the soil is impregnated. The olives and the honey are still the best in the world.* Many parts of Greece, however, are far from being salubrious; and it is probable, that great changes have taken place in this respect, owing to the desolation spread by war, pestilence, and oppression. The air of Corinth is so bad, that the inhabitants abandon the place during the summer months, through fear of the *malaria*, which is the scourge of the maritime plains.†

Lord Byron pronounces the air of the Morea to be heavy and unwholesome; but, on passing the isthmus in the direction of Megara, a striking change is immediately perceptible. The transition is equally great after passing the ridges of Citheron. The climate of Attica, he describes as a perpetual spring; rain is extremely rare, and even a cloudy day is seldom seen. Neither in the Spanish peninsula, nor in any other part of the East, except Ionia, in his Lordship's opinion, is the climate equal to that of Athens; but "I fear," he adds, "Hesiod will still be found correct in his description of a Bœotian winter."‡ "The unwholesome marshes of Bœotia," remarks Mr. Douglas, "are inhabited by a race whom the vanity of the Athenians still despises as inferior beings." Speaking generally of the country, he says: "The mixture of the romantic with the rich, which still diversifies its aspect, and the singularly picturesque form of all its mountains, do not allow us to wonder that even Virgil should generally desert his native Italy for the landscape of Greece. Whoever has viewed it in the tints of a Mediterranean spring, will agree in attributing much of the Grecian genius to the influence of scenery and climate."

* Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 7. Mr. Hobhouse, who was at Athens in the depth of winter, speaks in more qualified language of the climate. "The weather was never so inclement as to prevent an excursion on horseback. To the northern constitution of an Englishman, the Athenian winters are not commonly so rigorous as, from ancient accounts, you might be led to expect. After having found it agreeable to bathe, a little before Christmas, at Thebes, where a poet of the country (Hesiod) describes the cold to be so excessive as to freeze up the spirits of all nature, animate and inanimate, and to inflict upon man himself the miseries of a premature decay, it will not be supposed that the inclemency of Attica was by us severely felt."—*Journey, &c.* letter 24.

† Clarke's Travels, p. ii. s. 2. ch. 9.

‡ Notes to Childo Harold, canto ii.

CHAPTER II.

Grecian Islands.

AMONG the great number of islands with which the Ionian and Ægean seas are sprinkled, some of which were so celebrated in the history of ancient Greece, only a few of any considerable importance, or are spoken of with interest by modern travellers. Most of them, before breaking out of the late revolution, were inhabited indiscriminately by Greeks and Turks, being governed by a petty officer, appointed by the Porte. In a few instances however, the Greeks were permitted to govern themselves by paying a certain stipulated tribute to the Sultan.

The number of islands in the Ægean sea is no more than one hundred. The principal Ionian Isles are seven in number; hence they have been called the “Republic of Seven Islands.” These islands were ceded to the Venetians, when the Greek empire was divided between the Turks and the French, in the beginning of the 13th century. In 1479, the Turks took them from the Venetians, and kept them in possession of them for twenty years, when their former owners again wrested them from the infidels, and kept them until 1797, when they were taken by the French. In 1807 the Russians took these islands from the French, but the British took them back to France in 1807. In 1811, they were captured by the English, in whose possession they still remain.

Under the French, these islands enjoyed a nominal independence, and under the government of the English, have not only enjoyed liberty, and the administration of wholesome laws, but have been greatly improved by the introduction of the arts, sciences, and manufactures. In 1800 the British cabinet drew up a constitution of this Republic under the title of the “United States of the Ionian Islands.”

The Ionian Islands are situated on the south-west coast of Greece, from latitude 36° to 40° north. Their names, beginning north and counting towards the south, are,

Names.	Ancient Names.	Sq. Miles.
1 Corfu, *	Corcyra,	219
2 Paxo,	Paxos,	34
3 St. Maura,	Leucadia,	110

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Names.	Ancient Names.	Sq. Miles.
4 Cephalonia,		350
5 Ithica,		66
6 Zante,	Zacynthus,	88
7 Cerigo,	Cythera,	98

Corfu is the first in fertility and consequence among Ionian Islands. It exports considerable quantities of oil and salt. It also produces lemons, oranges, honey, and beeswax, and has a population of 65,000. Corfu, the capital of the island, is situated on the eastern coast. It is strongly fortified; is the seat of a university, founded by the English, and the residence of the Governor of the Ionian Republic. Number of inhabitants, 15,000.*

Paxo is situated six miles south of Corfu, and ten from the coast of Albania. It contains 6,000 inhabitants, chiefly Greeks.†

St. Maura is situated on the coast of Epirus, south-west of Paxo. It produces sea-salt, wine, oil, citrons, pomegranates, and game. This island contains a population of 20,000 Greeks, and is the residence of a Bishop. St. Maura, the capital, is strongly fortified, with a population of 6,000.‡

Ithica is situated a few miles south of St. Maura. It is one of the most celebrated islands of Grecian antiquity, though noted for its barrenness and rugged aspect. Its population is 8,000 Greeks. The English government, before the revolution, were about to establish a Greek university on this island for the benefit of the Ionian Republic.§

Cephalonia is the largest of the Ionian Isles. It is situated off the mouth of the Gulf of Lepanto, and only a short distance south of Ithica. It produces raisins, currants, figs, citrons, &c. Population 60,000, mostly Greeks. Argostoli, the chief town, has one of the best harbours in the Mediterranean.||

Zante. This beautiful island is situated on the coast of the Morea, a few miles south of Cephalonia. It is small, very populous and well cultivated. Its products are wine, currants, figs, olives, pomegranates, and other delicious fruits. The Greeks have forty churches, besides convents, on this island. Its population is 45,000. Zante, the capital, is situated on the north-east side, and has a commodious harbour.

* Morse's Geography and Gazetteer. † Ib.
‡ Morse's Gazetteer. § Ib. || Ib.

The town is placed at the edge of the water, and at the foot of a high mountain, on which there is a citadel which commands the harbour. Its population is 12,000. It is the residence of a Latin and Greek Bishop.*

Cerigo. This island is situated south-east of the Peloponnese and a hundred miles or more from Zante. It is but little cultivated, having a population of only about 10,000, chiefly Greeks.

The inhabitants of some of these islands have taken part in the revolutionary struggle, though, as a republic, they have remained in a state of neutrality.

The islands of the Ægean sea are so numerous, that only a few of the most important can be described here. Some of them are exceedingly important in the history of the revolution; others, though much nearer the principal scene of action, are not named at all in this connection.

Scio, the scene of the most shocking barbarities, and the commencement of the revolution, is situated on the coast of Asia Minor, and near the Gulf of Smyrna. It is 30 miles long, and from 10 to 18 miles wide. It was in a high degree of cultivation, and produced, besides the delicious fruits common to its climate, as oranges, citrons, wine, a large quantity of silk, about 30,000 lbs. of which were exported annually. About 500 looms were employed in weaving silk stuffs of various kinds. No little republic could have been happier or in a more flourishing condition, than Scio at the moment when it was taken and utterly destroyed by the Turks in 1822. Its population, according to Vosgien, was 30,000 Greeks, 10,000 Turks, and 3,000 Latins. Scio states its population to have been 110,000.

The capital town, Scio, was defended by a citadel with a considerable garrison. Here was a college, with 14 professors, and 700 or 800 students.†

Hydra is situated near the eastern coast of the Morea. It is ten miles long, and about two miles wide. The soil is little better than barren rocks, but the inhabitants are exceedingly enterprising and industrious. They possess vessels from 100 to 400 tons, and trade with Italy, France, Spain, and other countries. In this little island, the best sailors in the Archipelago are to be found. Most of their vessels are now converted to men of war, by which they

* Vosgien's Dictionnaire Geographique.

† Morse and Vosgien.

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rendered the most important services during the
Population 20,000.

Ipsara. This island, about half the size of I near Scio. Its population is 16,000. They depend on their commerce for wealth and subsistence. possessed 100 large ships and nearly 500 smaller vessels are a hardy, enterprising people.

Milo lies east of the Morea about 100 miles. miles long and 15 wide, and contains one of the best ports in the Mediterranean. The whole island is in a barren state from want of cultivation. The air is unhealthy. The capital city, also called Milo, on the eastern shore, but is deserted and in ruins, and serves as a retreat of pirates. Population 5,000, all Greeks.*

Andros is situated at the southern extremity of the Aegean Sea, and between that and Tinos. It is 24 miles long and 6 wide. Population 10,000, mostly Greeks.†

Candia, or Crete, is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean. It lies south-east of the Morea, and is 120 miles long, and 50 or 60 wide. The face of this island is mountainous, though fertile and healthy. The most remarkable among these mountains is *Ida*, so celebrated in Greek mythology. It produces wine, oil, honey, wax, &c. The population is estimated at 300,000, of which 150,000 are Turks, 130,000 Greeks, and the rest Jews. The tyranny of the Turks has prevented, for many years, the cultivation and improvement of this country.‡

Rhodes is the most celebrated of all the islands in the Mediterranean. It lies on the southern coast of Asia Minor, between the latitudes of 36° and 37°. It is 48 miles long and 18 wide. This little spot was once the most powerful state in Greece. After the death of Alexander the Great, it not only dazzled the world with its magnificence and splendour, but became formidable as a warlike state. It was in the possession of the Knights of the Order of St. John for more than 200 years, and was, during this long period, a scene of unparalleled carnage, the Knights being obliged to defend themselves against the force of the Turkish empire. Solyman finally took it from them after the loss of 40,000 men. Rhodes, also the na-

* Vosgien's Dictionnaire.

† Ib.

‡ Vosgien and Morse.

capital, was formerly a walled city of immense stre of the greatest magnificence ; but all remains of it grandeur have departed ; all its colossal statues, a coes, are destroyed, and a great proportion of th which remain, are uninhabited. Population, 5,00 and 10,000 Jews. Greeks are not permitted to li city. Population of the island, 20,000, of which t are Turks.*

Tino, or Tinos. This island lies south-east of and is about 60 miles in circumference. It prod currants, melons, grapes, &c. ; but its chief riche rived from the manufacture of silk, of which large are annually produced. Its population is about mostly Greeks.

Negropont, the ancient Eubœa, also called Egr narrow island extending along the coast of Livadia otia, from which it is divided by a strait so narrow connected to the main land by a bridge. It is 1 long, and 30 wide. This island, through the middle chiefly of barren mountains ; but the valleys are ex fertile. The present capital, Negropont, occupies of the ancient city of Calchis. It is strongly fort has formerly been the scene of much bloodshed, pa when the place was taken from the Venetians by th in 1469. The vallies produce excellent wine, co fruits. The mountains contain marble and copper lation of the island, 60,000 ; of the city, 16,000.†

What we have described must serve as example population, fertility, and situation of the other Gree Some of them, before the revolution, were in a statu perity, hardly to be expected under the hard and u servitude of the Porte ; others, highly celebrate history of the ancients, have apparently borne the with less fortitude, and have sunk into a state of de too low even to cultivate the soil on which they live

* Vosgien's Dictionnaire, Morse's Gazetteer.

† Morse and Vosgien.

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CHAPTER III.

Greece taken by the Romans.—Perseus carried to Rome.—Subversion of the Achæan commonwealth.—Greece becomes a Roman Colony.—War with Mithridates.—Sylla marches into Greece.—Athens given up to pillage.—Battle of Cynossema.—Destruction of the Bæotians.—Cilician pirates.—Nero plunders the country.—Greece divided between the Venetians and French.—The Turks establish their empire in the East.

FOR more than nineteen hundred years, Greece has been under the yoke of some foreign power. **B. C. 167.** the period of the death of Alexander the Great, the history of the Grecian republics presents us with scarcely any thing, but a series of revolutions, and intestine wars, till they, each in their turns, became subject to a foreign power. The Romans, at that period the most powerful nation, only waited for a pretext to establish their dominion in Greece. The Etolians being attacked and nearly overwhelmed by the Macedonians, who had already enslaved a great proportion of Greece, with a rash policy, sought the aid of Rome. The Romans were not slow in obeying the summons, and soon accomplished the reduction of the kingdom of Macedonia, and Perseus, its last Emperor, was led in chains to Rome, to grace the triumph of **Æmilius**, his conqueror, in **167, B. C.** From that period the Romans were hastily advancing in their conquest of Greece, the progress of which they hastened by fomenting dissensions between its several states, and corrupting its principal citizens. A pretext was only wanting to draw the sword against their Greek allies, whom they came to attack against the conquering Macedonians. This was furnished by the Achæan states, who insulted the deputies of Rome. With a pretended design to avenge this insult, but really with the higher object of making Greece a Roman province, **Metellus** marched his legions into that distant country, and entirely defeated the Grecian army. **B. C. 146.** taking possession of the several republics and cities in the name of Imperial Rome. **Munatius Plancus**, the Consul, terminated the work, and made an easy conquest of the whole of Greece, which from that period became

Roman province, under the name of Achaia, The overthrow of the Achæan commonwealth, finished the debasement of Greece, which sunk into a Roman district, under the denomination of Achaia : because with the overthrow public was completed the final reduction of states. In this province were comprised Peloponnesus, Bœotia, Phocis, and all that part of Greece of Epirus and Thessaly. All to the north of this as the utmost verge of the Macedonian frontier, province of Macedon. These two provincial governments of Macedon and Achaia, including the ancient domains of Macedonian princes, together with the several republics of Greece—that once illustrious land, glorious achievements, the chosen seat of liberty, polity and the arts, were henceforward to be a scene of humiliation and servitude.† Greece, and particularly Athens, were still spoken of by the Roman historians with considerable deference and respect. The eminence which the Athenians had gained in the arts, did not immediately decline under the yoke of Rome. For several ages after Greece became a Roman province the Roman youth resorted thither for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the sciences which they could not find at home ; and which it was supposed no other country was capable of bestowing. The language of Greece was the studied language of the polite and polished Romans. It is said, “ that victorious Rome was herself indebted to the arts of Greece.” Those immortal writers who commanded the admiration of modern Europe, soon became the favourite object of study and imitation in Italy and the eastern provinces. But the elegant amusements of the Greeks were not suffered to interfere with their serious policy, for whilst they acknowledged the superiority of the Greek, they asserted the dignity of the Latin to the exclusive use of the latter was inflexibly maintained. In the administration of civil as well as military government the Greek languages exercised at the same time their separation throughout the empire : the Grecian as the

* Tytler. † See Gast's Hist. Greece, vol. II,

‡ The Emperor Claudius disfranchised an eminent Greek in some public office, for not understanding the Latin !

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of science ; the Latin as the legal dialect of public transactions. Those who united letters with business, were equally conversant with both ; and it was almost impossible in any province, to find a Roman subject of a liberal education. He was at once a stranger to the Greek and Italian languages. From this period, the history of Greece becomes imperfect, and as it became a Roman colony, for many centuries, the historical records are chiefly to be found in the accounts of that conquering nation, and from whence it appears, that the Romans did not long remain peaceable possessors of their newly acquired territory.

B. C. In the year 89, B. C. † Mithridates king of Pontus conceived the daring design of overthrowing the Roman empire in Greece.

89. Three generals marched against him with the conquering legions of Rome ; but he defeated them all, and having taken the three commanders prisoners, he made a spectacle of them through the city, where they were treated with scorn and contempt. In addition to this, he appointed a day when all the Romans who could be found should be massacred, without regard to sex, or condition. Thus miserably perished eighty thousand Romans in one day.‡

The intention of Mithridates to free Greece from the Romans was now seconded by the Grecians themselves. The enmity of the Athenians against their oppressors had become exasperated by the fines imposed upon them at Rome ; they therefore implored Mithridates to assist them in obtaining their freedom. Nothing could have been more gratifying to that prince than such an application. He immediately marched to Athens, the gates of which were willingly thrown open to him, and preparations were made to resist any attempt the Romans might make on that city.

Meantime, Sylla, the Roman general, was preparing to punish this revolt, and having marched his army into Greece, the terror of his name was such as to occasion the submission of all the Grecian cities, with the exception of Athens. In this city, therefore, he marched his troops, with the intention of taking it by storm, and thus by a single blow to end the war in Greece. But in this he was disappointed. His assault made no impression on the well prepared and brave Athenians. His siege being finally turned into a block

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. 1. p. 40.

† Gast's Hist. Greece, vol. 1. p. 579. ‡ Ib.

famine and disease, after many months, made such havoc among the besieged, that they could hold out. The Romans entered the city through a breach in the dead of night, and the inhabitants, worn by famine and fatigue, could make but little resistance.

Irritated with the obstinacy of the Athenians, and being inured to scenes of carnage, and desirous to make an example of a revolted city,

Sylla gave Athens up to the sword and pillage of his legions, in the year 86, B. C.*

"Goaded on," says Dr. Gast, "by the fierceness and not less strongly perhaps, by their own resentment and avarice, the soldiery rushed furiously against the dispirited, defenceless multitude. The darkness of the night hour, the sound of the trumpets, the blowing of the clang of arms, the shouts of the conquerors, the screams of despair, all contributed to the horrors of the human massacre. Unchecked by any resistance, it made its way from quarter to quarter; many of the inhabitants worn out with want, offering themselves up to the stroke of death; and some, even before the sword reached them, unwilling to outlive the liberties, or existence of their country, or wishing to prevent the violence of the soldiery, falling by their own hands."† According to this scene was one of the most dreadful among recorded in Grecian history. Sylla ordered his soldiers to make an indiscriminate slaughter of all, whether soldiers, male or female, young or old. The number of victims exceeded all computation, nor could any one judge of the extent by the quantity of blood, which is said to have flowed in torrents through the gates of the city.

The Roman legions having become sated with the exercise of killing, Sylla spared what Athenians remained alive, and directed the residue of his vengeance against the city itself, and the beauties of which its murdered inhabitants had raised. The temple which had been the pride of the Athenians for centuries, on which they had expended immense sums, and the arts of decoration, was totally demolished: the temple spared by the fire being torn down by the soldiers.

The destruction of Athens did not end the odium of the Greeks towards their foreign invaders, nor

* Gast's Hist. Greece.

† Gast, vol. II. p.

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of human blood by the victorious Sylla. The probably instigated by the Macedonians, with which had joined their forces, set up the standard of revolt while the ruins of Athens were smoking, and her so buried on the field of battle. The two armies met at Ronea, where a most sanguinary conflict ensued, in which the Romans were completely victorious, leaving, it is said, hundred and ten thousand of their allied enemies dead on the field of battle.* Mithridates, notwithstanding the

ters, sent a third army to oppose the conquerors. The two armies again met in Boeotia on the field of Orchomenos, Sylla again triumphed over his enemies, leaving a vast number dead on the field.

After these victories, it now only remained for Sylla to take signal vengeance on the Bœotians, whose revolts had already reduced them to poverty, and their country to desolation. But neither the patriotism of these soldiers, nor the sufferings of their women and children, could least claim on the mercy of the relentless Sylla. He reduced the whole province up to devastation and massacre. The cities were laid in ruins, and their inhabitants, without discrimination, were put to the sword.†

To the miseries consequent on so dreadful a war, already described, there succeeded other calamities. The Cilician pirates had become so numerous and powerful in the weakened and depopulated state of Greece, that they invested her whole coast, and committed depredations and murders, almost without restraint. Not content with

robbing and robbing ships, these lawless rovers visited the towns, cities, and islands, which they pillaged, or took possession of, as was most convenient for themselves. They possessed arsenals, towns fortified, and impregnable places. Their galleys amounted to a thousand, which were completely equipped,‡ and in their possession were not less than a hundred.§ So numerous, rich and powerful had this nation become, that at one time the whole of the Ægean Sea, its coasts and islands, was under their complete control. The Ionian Isles or Candia free from their depredations.

* Gast's Hist. Greece, vol. 2. p. 589.

† Plutarch in Sylla.

‡ Gast's Hist. Greece. § lb.

All the coast of Greece bordering on the sea, together with her islands, suffered beyond description from the pirates. Cities and towns were sacked, and their inhabitants carried away, murdered, or suffered to perish from want and nakedness. Not even the temples of the gods were spared. Plutarch* enumerates seven of the most revered in all Greece, and which the hand of no man had dared to touch before, but now they were laid waste. Among them were the famous temple of Juno at Argos, and that of Esculapius at Epidaurus, and the temple of Apollo at Claros. During a period of near four centuries these enemies of mankind had thus continued their ravages, and until some large portions of Greece, formerly so populous and inhabited, had become entirely depopulated; some parts of the Morea scarcely a living human being was to be seen. Perhaps the best idea of this total desolation may be obtained from a fact recorded by Plutarch, when Pompey came to suppress these piracies, that a part of the Morea so entirely destitute of inhabitants in order to re-people it, a colony of the pirates themselves were sent there, where a province was designated for cultivation.†

B. C. 67. In consequence of the care which the Romans were always ready to take of their eastern provinces, Greece was finally delivered from the power of the desolating pirates who had reduced her to a state of abject misery. But though Greece was delivered from the pirates, she did not escape the desolation of war, for she afterwards became the theatre of carnage among the Grecians themselves. The desperate quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey, in which some of the Grecian states were concerned, could not but protract in this devoted country the miseries it had already experienced. The battle of Pharsalus terminated this sanguinary strife by the ruin of Pompey, but did not therefore relieve Greece from becoming the theatre of many subsequent conflicts.

The death of Cæsar had been celebrated by the Romans as the era of their approaching freedom, and Augustus, in revenge for such insolence, deprived Athens of many of her few privileges which her former masters had allowed her. He also plundered the Arcadians, even to their vestments.

* See his *Pompey*
† Plutarch.

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and monuments of antiquity. He reduced Messenia to a state of absolute vassalage, and observing the conduct towards every other Grecian state, he did the same, and to others he disallowed all privileges not consistent with absolute bondage.

The Emperor Nero, when he became master of the empire of Greece, with a levity well becoming his character, made a mock show of granting her freedom and independence, and this was declared publicly by his oration at the celebration of the Isthmian Games. This declaration did not, however, prevent his seizing every relique of splendour to be found, or even of plundering the temples of the gods of whatever valuables they contained. In the condition of Greece under the reigns of the successive emperors, it is only necessary to state here, that little amelioration of their servitude was ever granted her. In addition to Roman bondage, she was afterwards to derive an unexpected source. This was from the invasion of a race of barbarians, before unknown to the Grecians, who came from the northern parts of Germany.

The Goths, for so they were called, entered in vast numbers, commanded by their skilful general Alaric. Their route lay through Macedonia and Thessaly, and laid waste. On their approach to the narrow pass

1395. mopylæ, they might have been destroyed. The Greeks then possessed the same valour which defeated Leônidas and his three hundred men, long before the troops which had been posted to defend this narrow pass retired on the approach of Alaric; and "immediately the fertile fields of Phocis and Bœotia were covered with the spoils of barbarians."† They massacred all the males bearing arms, and drove away the beautiful female captives, spoil and cattle, to the flaming villages.

Alaric next marched to Athens, when to save the city from plunder, and its inhabitants from the sword, the Athenians delivered him the greatest part of the wealth they possessed. From Athens he turned towards Corinth, which yielded without resistance to his arms. Argos and Sicyonia also submitted on his approach, and thus all the magnificent cities and the finest provinces of Greece were either laid under contribution, or what was more

* See Gast's Hist. Greece, vol. II. p. 600.

† Gibbon, chap. xxx.

pillaged and burned by the Goths. "The vases and statues," says Gibbon, "were distributed among the barbarians with more regard to the value of the material, than to the elegance of the workmanship; the female captives sold to the laws of war, and the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valour."

No principal event happened to Greece Proper, which is necessary here to record, for several centuries after the incursion of the Goths. From the time of the Roman conquest, the character of the Grecians for patriotism and valour gradually declined, and their taste for the arts and the sciences, under the iron sceptres of the Roman emperors, was finally lost. From the histories of Rome and Constantinople, and from the account of the crusades, gleanings of the history of Greece may be found.

Constantinople, once so celebrated, was for many centuries blotched out of the list of empires. The Greeks did not, however, for many centuries, lose their veneration for the arts of their ancestors, but as they removed to other countries, their former pre-eminence in sculpture and other arts were carried with them, and preserved with sacred care in many families. The larger and more expensive works

1204. adorned their ancient cities, were also, many were carried away and preserved at the public expense. Hence, when the Latins took Constantinople from the Greeks, in 1204, a great number of the finest specimens of ancient Grecian art were found, which had been preserved with the greatest care.

Immediately after the taking of Constantinople by the Venetians and French, after a pompous show of ceremony, they agreed to divide the Greek empire among themselves. In this partition, about three fourths were allotted to the Venetians, including ancient or proper Greece. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat was created king of Thessaly.

Meantime the eastern and southern provinces were involved in all the horrors of war. Boniface, king of Thessaly, was attacked by the Bulgarians and killed. The Venetians took possession of the islands of the Ægean sea. While Baldwin of Flanders, lately made Emperor of Constantinople, was a prisoner in Thrace, by John, king of Bulgaria. The horrid barbarities committed during these wars,

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cient to state that the Emperor Baldwin was dragged to his capital, and after having his hands and feet cut exposed in a desert to the wild beasts and birds of which dreadful state of misery he survived three da

After a protracted and sanguinary war, in w
Latins, Greeks, Venetians, French, Saracens, Persi
Turks, each participated, and during which Consta
was taken and re-taken several times, and Greece f
often overrun, its provinces reduced to the utmos
and its cities sacked and burnt, the Turks finally e
ed their empire in the East, at the beginning of
century.



CHAPTER IV.

*Othman founds the Turkish Empire.—Solyman cr
Hellespont.—Solyman is killed.—Orcan also dies
rath begins his reign.—He forms the Janizaries.—
is killed.—Bajazet I. begins his reign.—Reduces
servitude.—Battle of Nicopolis.—French prisoner
tated.—Bajazet taken by Tamerlane, and confined i
—Manuel Emperor.—He relinquishes the throne to
First appearance of Tamerlane.—His conquests.—
Constantinople pays him tribute.—Tamerlane retir
marcand.—Tamerlane dies.*

THE foundation of the Turkish empire is attri
Othman, or Ottoman, and hence its name. He ca
1300. the borders of the Caspian Sea during the
Andronicus II. of Constantinople. At this
the Greek empire was reduced to the city of Consta
and the possession of some provinces in ancient
The eastern world had for nearly a century been i
of civil commotion. The schisms between the La
Greeks, the interposition of the crusaders, and the
wars, had reduced the eastern nations to a state of
and thinned them of inhabitants.

In this condition of the country, Othman, a fear
cunning leader, made by treachery, an easy conquest
ral cities and provinces in the vicinity of Consta

His son Orcan, who on the death of his father the throne, continued to enlarge the Turkish power, subduing every place in the power of his father. In 1330. he vanquished Andronicus the Greek Emperor in battles, and took from him the cities of Nicomedia and Adrianople, having besieged the latter city for two years. His conquests as far as Natolia, which borders the Black Sea, or Ægean sea, he longed to penetrate across, and, if possible, make himself master of Greece. His son, Solyman, a young warrior full of ambition, desired such a conquest more than his father. But the Turks were used to fight only by land, and had neither pilots, nor constructors; they wanted even fishing boats for every means of attempting this element, more than perhaps for those that understand it, than for those that never experienced it.† As Orcan had penetrated to the coast, the Emperor Andronicus, fearing he might use bribery or other means, masters of vessels to transport them across to Europe, published a decree which inflicted the pain of death, the putting of any vessel, or even the crossing of the Bosphorus of Thrace, or on the straits. Knowing that the Ottomans had no vessels of transport, the Emperor flattered himself that this decree, and would present an impenetrable barrier to the farther progress of Orcan. But Solyman, the adventurous young man, came all these obstacles by his fearlessness and crossed the Bosphorus at the head of eight hundred men, thus making himself master of the key of the city.

* Mignot's Hist. Ottoman Empire, vol. 1. p. 13. * †

† See Hawkins's Mignot, vol. 1. p. 16. where the following singular undertaking is given.

"Solyman having made a hunting party, arrived, by a secret way, on the borders of the straits, at the head of eighty determined men, constructed three rafts of thin plank, fastened on corks, tied by the neck, and thus risked himself and attendants to cross the sea on these frail skiffs, by the aid of long poles which they used as oars and even rudders. This rash enterprise succeeded to the wishes [hopes] of Solyman. He arrived without the least opposition at the foot of the castle of Hanni, in Europe. Both the night and day favoured him. He met a peasant at break of day going to work, man, enslaved by fear, and gained by gold, introduced him into the castle, by a subterraneous passage, into the castle of Hanni (Sestos.) There was no garrison in this place, as the castle was sufficiently defended by the sea; all was still and human sleep. Solyman made himself master of the castle,

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The life of Solyman was short. After having conquered part of Romania and Thrace, and while he was before Adrianople, an unruly horse threw him with such force as to terminate his life on the spot. His father died with the loss. "The aged Orchan wept, and expired on the death of his valiant son."* But, says Gibbon,† "the Greeks had not time to rejoice in the death of their enemies; the Turkish scimeter was wielded with the same spirit by Amurath the First, the son of Orchan, and the brother of Solyman. By the pale and fainting light of Byzantine history we can discern, that he [Amurath] subdued without resistance the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to mount Hæmus, and the verge of the Danube; and that Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of government and religion in Europe." After having subdued the provinces of Bulgaria, Bothnia, Albania, and Servia, Amurath met a sudden death by the desperate blow of a wounded soldier. "A Servian soldier," says Gibbon, "started from the crowd of dead bodies, and Amurath was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound."‡

When Amurath assembled the principal inhabitants, he addressed them in the most flattering terms, and made use of the most magnificent promises to induce these Greeks, who were all pilots or sailors, and moreover were attached to their prince, to take the vessels which they had in the ports just by, and conduct them to the other side of the straits. With a bark four thousand Turks, who were there attending him, in a few hours this small army was transported from Asia to Europe.

The next day the governor of Gallipoli attacked the Turks with the forces he could muster, but after a long and doubtful combat the Greeks were beaten.

It is difficult at this time to ascertain the points whence Amurath departed and where he landed. D'Anville, in his ancient Geography, says, "*Sestos*, which was the most frequented passage of the Hellespont, only exists in a ruined place named Zemeuc, which was the first that the Turks seized in passing from Asia to Europe." The Sultan Or Khan, about the year 1356.

* Gibbon.

† Decline and Fall, vol. 6. p. 191.

‡ It was Amurath who formed the band of soldiers, called Janizaries, and which has since become so famous, and exerted such an influence over the government of Constantinople. Having a body of young men selected for this purpose, Amurath stretched out his arm over the head of the first soldier, and blessed them in these words. "Let them be called Janizaries, (*yengi cheri*, or new soldiers;) may their courage be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! they may return with *white faces*."

White and black faces are common and proverbial expressions of praise and reproach in the Turkish language. See Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. 6. p. 92.

Amurath I. was considered a mild and modest prince, a lover of learning and virtue.* We must remember he lived at a time when devastation, and death by torture, were the common lot of the vanquished all over the east, and usages which at the present day would be barbarities in a civilized country, would then have been considered as humane.

Under the semblance of justice, Amurath had the death of his own son plucked out. He also, on one occasion, condemned several young citizens who had carried arms against him, to be put to death by the hands of their fathers. The fathers refused to execute this unnatural order, and were massacred by their sons.† Still he was called a mild and virtuous prince.

Amurath was succeeded by his son Bajazet II. This celebrated prince was brave, ambitious, and "In the fourteen years of his reign, he incessantly led at the head of his armies, from Boursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates."‡ He extended his empire across the Hellespont into Europe, and whatever was left of the Greek empire, in Macedonia, Thrace, or Thessaly, was reduced to Turkish servitude. Penetrating to the gates of Thermopylæ, a traitorous Greek Bishop opened through that pass, and hence the whole of Greece became his prey.§ He carried death or Mahometanism wherever he went. His name and exploits finally became so terrible, when Sigismond the king of Hungary determined to oppose him, his cause was considered that of Europe, and of the Christian Church. The Knights of France and Germany were eager to join the standard of the Christian King against their armies: An army of 100,000 Christians assembled to suppress the invasions of the infidel, and to break his power. The field of Nicopolis in Bulgaria, and the river of the Maritsa, were destined to become the grave of this combination. The king of Hungary with difficulty made his escape. The infidel king was completely victorious. The captives who had survived this dreadful conflict were brought before the throne of the Sultan, and as they refused to abjure their faith and embrace Ishmaelism, they were successively beheaded in his presence.||

After this battle, Bajazet boasted that he would conquer both Germany and Italy, and that he would give a horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of

* Gibbon. † Hawkins's Mignot. ‡ See Gibbon.
|| Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. 6. p. 194.

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at Rome.* Gibbon says, with an air of triumph, "H progress was checked, not by the miraculous interposition of the apostle; not by a crusade of the Christian power, but by a long and painful fit of the gout."†

The fate of this scourge to the Christian world, is now known. He was taken prisoner by Tamerlane, in whose hands he died.‡

The city of Constantinople was still possessed by the Greeks, but the conquests of Bajazet had given them the possession of the country and cities in every direction surrounding it. Even the places from whence that imperial city drew its supplies, and the avenues to it, were in the hands of the infidels.

In this state of things, Manuel, the Greek Emperor, seeing the impossibility of obtaining provisions for his capital, and seeing that the Greek reign in the east was nearly at an end, chose rather to see the throne sink under another, than to sink himself. He therefore, of his own free will, relinquished to John, the son of Andronicus, his tottering throne, with the keys of his city; and quitting Asia, now full of misery, and poverty, passed over the Hellespont, to begin a wandering life at the different courts of Europe.

John, it was well known, had made some overtures to Bajazet, with a view of taking Constantinople by treachery, instead of force, and of dispossessing his uncle Manuel of the throne. With this intention, the Sultan had committed to him a thousand of his troops, with which he was to besiege the capital if necessary. John had, however, now become the quiet possessor of the throne, by the abdication, and the death of his uncle. A question now arose, whether John should give up the throne and capital to Bajazet, which he had promised to do, if he became master of it. But it was well understood also, that the troops which Bajazet had lent him, were to be the means by which he was to possess the city, and that the means the abdication of Manuel rendered not necessary.

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. 6. p. 194.

† History tells us that Tamerlane, or Timor, as he is also called, confined Bajazet in an iron cage, like a wild beast, and that he, to end to a life so miserable and odious, beat out his brains against the cage. This story is rejected as fabulous by most modern writers. Gibbon, however, has collected several authorities to evince that the warrior received the most ignominious and harsh treatment from the conqueror, and that the story of the iron cage was probably not without foundation. See Gibbon, vol. 6. chap. 65.

‡ Hawkins's *Mignot*, vol. 1. p. 44.

All the orders of the state conjured John to renounce the throne, protesting that they would rather see themselves massacred before their faces, and perish themselves in flames, than live under Turkish barbarity.* Whatever decision might have been, no Christian power could have defended Constantinople against the assault of Tamerlan, who had determined to possess himself of that city, and was on the point of marching towards it, when, from the least expected, there rose up a powerful and successful opposer to the future conquests of Bajazet. This was Tamerlane. Tamerlane was a Tartarian prince from the frontiers of Parthia. In his youth he was a squire to the prince of his country. Living in an age and among a people where personal bravery, sagacity, and treachery in war were qualities best adapted to power, he rose with astonishing rapidity to the highest distinction. At the age of twenty-five or thirty, his fame as a conqueror became such as to induce all the petty princes of his neighbourhood to join his standard, and he was thus enabled to raise so numerous and powerful an army, as to defy all resistance. He overran and conquered, with astonishing rapidity, Hindostan, Egypt, and other countries.†

From the Irtysh and Volga, to the Persian Gulf, from the Caspian Sea, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Arabian Sea, Asia was in the hands of Timor; his armies were invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal might have been to conquer and convert the Christian kingdoms of the East, which already trembled at his name.‡

His love of conquest was so insatiable that he attacked, and indiscriminately subdued, both Tartarian, Turkish and Christian nations; hence when he reached the utmost verge of Asia Minor, and his unbounded power impelled him to seek unconquered lands in Europe, that the Greeks and Turks had united to dispute the empire of their common enemy, either by the Hellespont or the Bosphorus. "On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in a common cause; the double straits were guarded with strong fortifications; and they separately withheld the troops which Timor demanded of either nation under the pretext of attacking their enemy."§

* Hawkins's Mignot.

† Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. 6. p. 219.

‡ Gibbon.

§ Ib.

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They soothed him with presents, and tributary gifts, by an acknowledgment of inferiority, tempted him to treat with the honour of victory, without drawing his sword. John, the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, submitted to pay him tribute, and ratified a treaty with him, by an oath of allegiance.

Tamerlane, after having filled Asia, India, and Europe with terror, devastation, and mourning, and after having conquered vast territories, without the expectation or wish of making them tributary provinces, retired for a short period to Samarcand, his capital, to give himself some repose from the labours of war, and to display his magnificence and power.

1404. Here he gave audience to ambassadors from Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, Russia, and Spain. On this occasion he married six of his grandsons, and celebrated their nuptials with all the pomp and splendour of Eastern magnificence. Whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for the kitchens; the plains were spread with pyramids of meat, and vases were filled with every liquor, of which thousands were invited to partake. A general indulgence was proclaimed, every law was relaxed, and every pleasure allowed; the sovereign was idle, and the people free.* A period of fifty years to the attainment of empire, this, to serve the historians of Tamerlane, was the only happy period of his life. He could not, however, remain inactive. He had proposed to add to his conquests the vast and ancient empire of China, as the climax of his military glory. A hundred thousand veteran troops had been selected, with sedulous care, for this great and important expedition. The baggage was drawn in 500 great waggons, and the journey from the capital of the Great Mogul, to Peking, it was estimated, could not be performed in less than six months. The army, headed by the Mogul in person, now aged seventy years, had scarcely begun their march, when their aged prior sickened and died, the 1st of April, 1405.

* Gibbon.

CHAPTER V.

Mahomet ascends the Ottoman throne.—He is a Prince.—Amurath II. ascends the throne.—Mustapha, taken.—Amurath raises an army, Greece.—Thessalonica taken, and destroyed.—reduces the Pachas.—Scanderbeg.—Siege of Amurath obliged to retire in disgrace.—Charaderbeg.—His death.—The Turks dig up his bones.—Mahomet II. prepares an army to take Constantinople, the last Greek Emperor, dies.—The city is taken.—Account of the Siege.—Distress of the inhabitants.—Mahomet II. to be grieved, but destroys all the nobility.—Cut the head of Irene.—Repeoples Constantinople, and gives the Churches to the Christians.

MAHOMET I. ascended the Ottoman throne in 1453. He fixed his royal residence at Bursa, the seat of his ancestors. The Greek Emperor did not hesitate to send him ambassadors, who were received with respect, and dismissed with many honours. Mahomet protected the Greeks from the tyranny of their Turkish masters, and in general, distributed justice with an even hand both towards Christians and Mahometans. Two of his sons he even sent to the Greek Emperor for protection and guardianship, for fear, it is said, that their elder brother would have them strangled. The Sultan died in 1481, greatly lamented by his subjects, a just and lenient prince, and under whose reign they enjoyed peace and prosperity.*

On the accession of Amurath II. to the Ottoman throne in 1481, he found his kingdom greatly disturbed by an adventurer named Mustapha, who pretended that he was son of Bajazet, and rightful heir to the throne. The city of Adrianople, and several of the provinces, espoused the cause of Mustapha, believing him to be their lawful prince. In the most cunning impostures, he drew many of the nobles to join his standard, and by this means raised a large and powerful army, with which he possessed himself of many cities and provinces.

* Hawkins's Mignet.

The first business of Amurath, therefore, was to subdue this impostor, who had passed over into Europe with the hope of making himself master of all the Turkish possessions on that side of the Hellespont. Having crossed into Europe, Amurath found that the pretender had left Adrianople, where he had sometime been, and had gone into Wallachia for the purpose of raising some troops. Here he was surprised, taken, and carried in chains to Adrianople, where Amurath, having exposed him to the scorn and derision of the populace, had him hanged in gibbets in the public square of that city.

While Amurath was engaged in the reduction of this impostor, he remained in perfect peace with Manuel, the Greek Emperor, who had now resumed the government.

But he never forgot that Manuel had treated the impostor, his rival, as though he was in truth the true Mustapha, and legal heir to the throne. Whether Manuel really believed what he pretended is unknown. The Sultan, however, took him in earnest, and determined to punish him accordingly. With this intention, he retained the Greek ambassadors who were at his court, until he had raised an army of 150,000 men. He then marched successively into Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, each of which he ravaged. His intention was to lay waste the country, and finally besiege Constantinople; but an unexpected insurrection at Nice arrested the progress of his desolations, and turned his attention to his internal affairs.

1424. Meantime, Manuel, the Greek Emperor, died at Constantinople, leaving his throne to John Paleologus, to whom he had already given a share of the government.

Amurath did not forget his hatred of the Greeks, nor relinquish his intention of warring against them. He therefore raised an army, and invaded Greece Proper, throughout most of its maritime coasts. The Emperor John, seeing his finest provinces pillaged, and his subjects miserably enslaved, earnestly sought peace, and in order to obtain it consented to abandon to the Turks all the provinces and cities they had conquered, and to pay the Sultan an annual tribute of 300,000 aspers besides. The Emperor also stipulated to resign Thessalonica, the present Salonica,* and to beat down

* D'Anville's Ancient Geography.

the wall which the Greeks had built across the Istm of Corinth, to protect the Morea from the incursions of the Turks.*

The Thessalonians, however, averse to being slaves, had recourse to the republic of Venice for aid in defending themselves. The Venetians most readily accepted their proposals, and made immediate preparations for a vigorous defence. Amurath, surprised to find himself opposed by an enemy which he had not before thought of, irritated that the Emperor did not enforce his stipulations, put him in possession of Thessalonica, determined to take the place, cost him what it might.

The Sultan's army was so numerous, that the besieged were more than a hundred to one of the besiegers;† the defence was determined and desperate, and the general began to despair of reducing the place. He therefore wrote to the Sultan, stating the case, and requesting his presence in order to encourage the troops. As soon as he arrived at the camp, he caused to be published by a trumpet, that he gave the soldiers every thing that was found in Thessalonica, men, women, children, gold, furniture, and wares, and that he reserved for himself the place and the buildings.‡ This proclamation encouraged the soldiers, that the attack was renewed with most determined courage. The number of Turks was so great, that an assault could be made at every vulnerable point at the same instant. The soldiers and inhabitants became worn down, and enervated with fatigue and hunger. The Turks mounted the walls in such numbers as to overpower the besieged, and after a desperate struggle on both sides, finally succeeded in opening the gates to the city.

1429. The declaration of Amurath had made it in the interest of his soldiers not to put the inhabitants to the sword, since dead bodies would bring them no profit; they therefore saved the miserable and emaciated alive, and each soldier took for his own use, or sold for his own profit, as many as he could secure. The town was a desert, for not only the gold, silver, and all the riches of the place, fell into the hands of the Turks, but the inhabitants were all removed, while the churches, with one exception, were turned into mosques.§

* Hawkins's Mignot, vol. 1. p. 91. † *Id.*

‡ Mignot's Hist. vol. 1. p. 91. § *Id.*

The attention of Amurath, as well as his army, was drawn from Greece soon after the sacking of Salonica, and for twelve years he made war with his vassals in the different parts of Europe and Asia. His immense dominions had become a scene of continual warfare. The Pachas, to whom he had committed the government of his provinces, if not watched closely, soon became petty despots, enriching themselves on the spoils of his subjects. These abuses Amurath made it his business to remedy with his sword; and either by decapitation or imprisonment, had so reduced these refractory spirits, as to enjoy, with his subjects, a general tranquillity. But in the latter years of his reign he had to combat a warrior more formidable, and consequently more difficult to subdue, than any he had yet met with.

At a period of which we are now writing, nearly all the
1444. petty princes of Greece had submitted to the Ottoman power, and paid an annual tribute to their conqueror. John Castriot had not only paid tribute to the Sultan, as prince of Epirus, but had submitted to have his four sons conducted to the court of that prince as hostages.* The three eldest of these sons died, and not without suspicion of poison. The youngest, whose name also was John, the Sultan caused to be circumcised, and brought him up in the Mahometan faith; but it is said that he never gave up his belief in Christianity, though he did not profess it openly. Young Castriot signalized himself in the art of war, on many occasions, and by his great bodily strength and courageous actions, obtained among the Turks the name of *Scander*, which signifies Alexander, to which they added *Beg*, which signifies prince.†

Scanderbeg was kept constantly in the field of action by the Sultan, and being a man of considerable talents, became exceedingly skilful in all the arts and finesse of Turkish warfare. On the death of Scanderbeg's father, the Sultan established a Pacha in his place, thus exercising the power of an usurper, instead of relinquishing to the only surviving heir his hereditary dominions. Scanderbeg found that the Sultan, so far from being his benefactor, was only his tyrant. He therefore, for a long time, had determined to leave him, and if possible obtain possession of his own province. A proper opportunity offered at the close of the Hungarian

* See Gibbon, vol. 6. p. 290—also Hawkins's Mignot,

† Hawkins, vol. 1. p. 108.

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; when the Sultan, having left his army under the direction of a Pacha, who happened to be taken prisoner; the army was thus left without a commander. Scanderbeg, taking advantage of this circumstance, invited the Reis Effendi, or principal secretary of the Sultan, to his tent, where, presenting a dagger to his breast, he forced him to sign a firman, giving him the government of Epirus. This done, he put to death, with his own hand, the unoffending secretary, and buried him on the spot, so as to destroy every trace of this transaction.*

Having arrived at Croya, the capital of his paternal province, its gates were thrown open to him, on his producing the royal firman; and no sooner did he command the fortress, than he threw off all dissimulation, and proclaimed that he, John Castriot, had come to avenge the wrongs his family and country had received at the hands of the Turks. He at the same time abjured both the Prophet and the Sultan, and called on the Albanians to defend their religion and country from infidel despotism. A general revolt was the consequence, and at a meeting of the several states of Epirus, Scanderbeg was appointed commander of the army against the Sultan.

The city of Croya was strongly fortified, and provisioned for a long siege. The fame of Scanderbeg was such as to draw to his standard many brave adventurers from France and Germany,† and the Venetians lent him both men and money, to assist in the prosecution of the war. Croya was garrisoned by six thousand men, under the command of the lieutenant general Uruena, while Scanderbeg himself retired to the mountains at the head of his army.

Amurath was allowed to approach the city and lay siege to it, but from this moment no rest was allowed to the Sultan's army. Uruena constantly annoyed the besiegers' camp with a well served train of artillery; while Scanderbeg made daily or nightly sallies from the mountains, and having destroyed as many Turks as he could find, generally retired without losing a man.

1448. The whole summer was occupied in fruitless attempts to reduce the place, and though the Turkish army consisted of sixty thousand horse, and forty thousand Janizaries,‡ the Greeks found themselves stronger at the close of the siege than at its commencement.

* See Hawkins's Mignot, and Gibbon's Decline and Fall

† Gibbon.

‡ Ib.

Amurath felt irritated and ashamed that a young man, educated in his own family, should thus triumph over him. No means which he could possibly devise to reduce the rebel, not even offers of bribery, were left untried. Scanderbeg constantly came off victorious, notwithstanding his army was not one eighth so numerous as that of Amurath.*

At length, after losing a great number of men, the Sultan saw the necessity of retiring, however disgraceful it might be to his army, or vexatious to himself. But this he could not do without additional losses, since Scanderbeg had possession of the mountain passes through which his army must retreat: but there was no other alternative, and the siege of Croya was raised. In attempting to pass the defiles of the mountains, the Turkish army was constantly harassed, and great numbers of them destroyed by the Greeks, who in silence and unseen, were waiting at all the narrow places, well prepared for its arrival. Finally, after experiencing great difficulties and constant losses, the Sultan arrived at Adrianople, with the remnant of a worn out and disappointed army; and it is said the vexation, shame, and fatigue of this campaign, so wrought upon him, as to shorten his days.

The enthusiasm of historians has ranked Scanderbeg with an Alexander, and a Pyrrhus, as a warrior. His limited domains, and the smallness of his armies, must, however, leave him far below those generals on the pages of history. But when we consider, that with the small means which he could command, he for twenty-three years sustained himself against all the powers of the Ottoman empire, and that he uniformly baffled all the attempts of the most skilful generals which the Sultan sent to take, or reduce him, we cannot withhold our belief, that under equal circumstances, his renown as a conqueror would not have been inferior to that of Tamerlane or Bajazet. Scanderbeg, however, did not fight for the purpose of making conquests, but from the more honourable motive of defending his country from cruel oppression. Hence, as a patriot and lover of national liberty, he cannot but rank higher in the estimation of virtuous minds than any mere conqueror. His exploits are still remembered and recounted with romantic enthusiasm by his countrymen. And the Turks themselves, even by the violation of his sepulchre,

* Hawkins.

showed a superstitious reverence for his name.* The death of Scanderbeg happened at Lissa, a Venetian town, where he had gone to confer on the subject of a league. He died of a short illness, on the 17th of January, 1467. Soon after his death, his poor desolated country, after the most unheated struggle, was obliged to submit to the power and tyranny of the Turkish arms.

1452. The time now approached when the Greek empire in the east was to yield to the more powerful arms of the infidels. Constantine, the last Emperor, still sat upon his tottering throne at Constantinople. The Turks, with the exception of that great city, had possessed themselves of almost the whole Greek empire.

1453. Mahomet the Second determined to give a last and finishing stroke to the Christian power in Asia. After immense preparations, he invested Constantinople with an army of three hundred thousand men.† His artillery, consisting of fourteen powerful batteries, were brought to bear upon the city at the same time. The enemy approached nearer every day, while the brave Greeks, determined to defend their beloved city to the last, continued to resist, until but a handful of their soldiers remained. Constantine, as a last effort to save his city from pillage and massacre, offered to submit, and pay any tribute the Sultan might demand. But the Turk was eager for the glory of effacing every trace of the Greek empire. Thousands of his troops were precipitated into the ditch in attempting to gain possession of the walls. The ditch itself was entirely filled with dead bodies, so that at last the Janizaries were able to walk on them directly to the assault. The unfortunate Constantine, seeing that there was no longer any hope, and determining not to fall into the hands of Mahomet, precipitated himself among the Janizaries, who killed him without knowing who he was.

“After a siege of forty days,” says Gibbon, “the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was assaulted by a double attack; the fortifications which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were

* It is said that Scanderbeg slew three thousand Turks with his hand, and that after his death the Janizaries dug up his bones, being cut into small pieces, were distributed and worn as bracelet amulets. See Gibbon.

† Hawkins's Mignot, vol. 1. p. 130.

mantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon;* many breaches were opened, and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. Mahomet, to spur on the ardour of his troops, proclaimed that the spoil of the city should be theirs. "The city and the buildings," said the Sultan, "are mine; but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty: be rich, and be happy." With such motives, the Turks became regardless of life, and impatient of delay. On the next assault, the breaches were found to be no longer defensible. The valour of the few Greeks which remained could do nothing against such numbers. The gate Phenar was forced, and the Turks soon gained admittance at many points, at the same moment.

Immediately on entering the city, two thousand Greeks were put to the sword; but the richness of the place saved thousands more from the same fate. The cupidity of the soldiers overcame their hatred to the Greeks, and they soon relinquished killing, for the more profitable business of plundering.

Thus, after a siege of 53 days, Constantinople, which had heretofore defied the power of the Caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by Mahomet the second. It was taken on the 28th of May, 1453, two thousand two hundred and five years after the founding of Rome, and eleven hundred and twenty-three years after Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, had removed the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium.

After the Greeks found that their streets were full of Turkish soldiers, and that resistance would only lead to instant death, they threw down their swords and submitted to their fate, that of being bound and sold as slaves. Gibbon gives a most pathetic and interesting account of this scene.—"The Turks," says he, "encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice, and the right of property was decided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour the male captives were bound with cords;

* It is said that the Sultan had caused to be made some pieces of cannon for this attack, of enormous magnitude. One piece, of brass, cast at Adrianople, threw a stone of six hundred pounds weight, and took two months for its removal from the foundery to Constantinople.

the females, with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates with the porters of the church; and the young men of a plebeian class, with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched arms, and dishevelled hair. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of those domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the streets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. Above sixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and the fleet; exchanged or sold, according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire."*

Meanwhile, the work of destruction was going on against the city itself, its buildings, its churches, and its ornaments. The dome of St. Sophia was despoiled of its oblations of ages. Its gold and silver ornaments, its sacerdotal vases, were taken or wantonly destroyed, according to the interest or caprice of the soldiers. The church itself was converted into a mosque, and so remains to this day.

Mahomet pretended at first, to be full of grief at this miserable spectacle, which every where greeted his eye on entering the city. He even ransomed several persons of rank, gave others their liberty, and declared himself the friend and father of the conquered. In this way he allured many to come and claim his protection and bounty. But this kindness was only a prelude to the fate of these unhappy victims; for before he left the city, his noblest captives were beheaded in cold blood by his order. Almost all the men and particularly those who could bear arms, had been killed before the city was taken. There remained only women and children, without fathers, husbands, or brothers. Those who had these natural protectors, were, if possible, in a worse condition than those who had not, since they had to bear the pain of seeing each other bound and dragged

* See *Decline and Fall*, vol. 6. p. 326.

like beasts of burthen, or perhaps violated or massacred on the spot.*

* The following account, from "*Vertot's History of the Knights of Malta*," will serve as an example of individual suffering, and at the same time give a good picture of Mahomet's character.

"The women," says he, "detested the fecundity which made them mothers, and bitterly lamented the fate of the young infants they carried in their arms. An infinity of young girls, timid and faltering in their steps, who, not knowing where to go, wandered about like wretched strangers in the very bosom of their country, and, whilst they were in quest of their relatives, fell into an abyss of horrors, and into the hands of barbarians, from whom they experienced a treatment, more horrid to them than the most cruel punishment. Neither their tears nor their cries touched the insolent conqueror, and the meanest of the Turks had an accomplished beauty for his prey, though often taken from him by another Turk, either stronger than himself or of higher authority in the army. Most of these barbarians set their prisoners up for sale; but the men of quality, the princes, and officers who were taken under arms, were executed by the Sultan's orders; none escaped his cruelty but the handsomest young persons of both sexes, whom he reserved for the abominations of the Seraglio. It was thus that a young Greek lady of noble birth, called Irene, hardly seventeen years old, fell into his hands. A Pacha had just made her his slave; but struck with her exquisite beauty, thought her a present worthy the Sultan. The East had never before given birth to so charming a creature; her beauty was irresistible, and triumphed over the savage Mahomet; rough as he was, he was forced to yield himself entirely to this new passion; and in order to have fewer avocations from his amorous assiduities, he passed several days without allowing his ministers and the principal officers of the army to see him. It was soon perceived that war was no longer his passion; the soldiers, who were inured to plunder, and accustomed to find booty in following him, murmured at the change; the officers as well as soldiers complained of his effeminate life; yet his wrath was so terrible that nobody durst undertake to speak to him on that subject. At length, Mustapha Pacha, consulting only his fidelity, was the first that gave him notice of the discourses which the Janizaries held publicly to the prejudice of his glory. The Sultan continued some time in a sullen and deep silence, as if he was considering in himself what resolution he should take. The only order Mustapha received, was, to summon the Pachas to assemble the next day, with all the guards, and the troops to be posted, under pretence of a review; after which he went into Irene's apartment, and staid with her all night. Never did the young princess appear so charming in his eyes; never, too, had the Sultan given her such tender marks of his love before; and in order, if possible, to bestow new lustre on her beauty, he desired her maids to exert all their care and skill in dressing her. When she was thus set out and adjusted to appear in public, he took her by the hand and led her into the middle of the assembled troops, when, tearing off the veil that covered her face, he haughtily asked the Pachas around, if they had ever seen a more perfect beauty. All the officers, like true courtiers, were lavish of their praises, and congratulated him on his felicity. Upon which, Ma

Although Mahomet had thus taken and sacked the only Christian city of any consequence in the East, and although it was then in his power to have exterminated Christianity from his dominions, yet it was his policy, and not his humanity, which forbade such an act. Constantinople, although drained of inhabitants, was not despoiled of her beautiful edifices, the work of ages, nor of her incomparable local situation; it still bore the marks of an immense metropolis. Mahomet designed to establish his throne in this conquered city, which, though deserted, was not ruined. He therefore wanted inhabitants to fill the vacant houses, and to carry on the business, arts, and commerce of his capital.

So soon as the Greeks heard that their lives, and even liberties and religion, could again be enjoyed on returning to their native city, they came in crowds to submit themselves to their new master. The churches were divided between the Turks and Christians, and the city was separated into sections to be occupied by the two religions.



CHAPTER VI.

Mahomet settled on the throne of Constantinople.—Thomas and Demetrius, princes of the Morea, and last remains of the Roman and Greek dynasty in the East.—Mahomet takes Negropont, and barbarously destroys Arretzo, the governor.—He wars against Albania.—He menaces the island of Rhodes.—Siege of Rhodes.—Mahomet is defeated, and marches to his capital.—His war against the Persians.—Bajazet sends his fleet against the Venetians.—Takes Lepanto and Coron.—Turks defeated in their turn by Cordova.—Peace between Venice and the Porte.—Bajazet strangles his sons.—Selim dethrones his father, afterwards puts him to death.—Death of Selim.

AFTER having settled himself on his throne, and means to re-people his city, Mahomet began to turn his

homet, taking the fair Greek by the hair, in one hand, and drawing sword with the other, at one stroke separated her head from then turning about to his grandees, with eyes rolling and flashing fire,—‘*This sword,*’ said he to them, ‘*whenever I please, cut the ties of love.*’”

tion towards a fragment of the Greek Empire, which still remained in Europe. Two brothers of Constantinople, whose fate we have already told, possessed the principality of the Morea, which they governed together, each one having his separate dominions. These two princes, Thomas and Demetrius, were immediately laid under an annual tribute of twelve hundred ducats, with the payment of which the Sultan was so far satisfied as to allow them to remain in the enjoyment of their government for several years. But the brothers quarrelled between themselves, and even carried fire and sword into each others dominions. The Sultan, under pretence of settling this difficulty, marched an army into the Morea, and having declared for Demetrius, Thomas made his escape to Corfu, and from thence into Italy, where he remained an exile. Demetrius, having delivered up his daughter to the Sultan, was given a small city in Thrace for his maintenance, and that of his adherents.

1461. Thus ended the last remains of a race of princes, who had possessed the throne of the east for more than eleven hundred years.

Mahomet, continually on the look out, in search of prey, soon turned his arms against Euboea, now Negropont, which belonged to the Venetians. The commander, Arret-

1469. zo, defended Calchis, which was strongly fortified, with the greatest courage. But the army of Mahomet amounted to a hundred and forty thousand men, while the besieged had only twenty-four thousand. The Sultan also had command of the sea, where he had a hundred vessels, and was thus enabled to prevent the garrison from receiving any supplies. Famine finally obliged Arretzo to capitulate, which he did, with the assurance that his life, and the lives of his soldiers, should be spared. But no sooner did this monster gain possession of the city, than he ordered Arretzo, with his principal officers, to be sawn through the middle of the body, saying, with his usual barbarity, that he had guaranteed their heads but not their flanks.* The daughter of Arretzo, a beautiful young girl, the Sultan designed for his Seraglio, but she, resisting the caresses of her brutal master, he put her to death with his own hand.†

The island was filled with carnage and rapine. To the Latin Christians they gave no quarter. Blood and desolation was every where to be seen, nor did these wretches

* Hawkins's Mignot, vol. 1. p. 166.

† Ib.

leave this once beautiful island, until it was nearly converted to a desert.

1480. The Albanians were next to suffer from the fire and sword of this merciless conqueror. The Venetians had undertaken the defence of that country, as guardians to the son of Scanderbeg, whose valour and patriotism have already been noticed. At the head of an hundred and fifty thousand men, Mahomet ravaged the whole province, and spared nothing from the sword or the flames.

The Sultan next menaced the island of Rhodes. This island was in the possession of the Knights of the order of St. John, or as they were more commonly called, the Knights of Rhodes. Mahomet happening to see one of the galleys belonging to the knights, his envy and malice became excited, and he swore that he would cut off the head of their Grand Master with his own hand, and that he would exterminate the whole order.

Great preparations were made to carry this oath into execution. The armament consisted of an hundred and sixty high built vessels, besides galliots, and a hundred thousand land forces. The Grand Master Aubusson, also made preparations to receive these Turks in a manner becoming their order.

Finding that the Turks made use of mortars, which threw shot of such magnitude as to fall through the buildings, and thus kill or overturn every thing opposed to their force, he constructed, with immense beams of wood, a place of safety for the sick, aged, women and children. The knights were also possessed of very formidable artillery, with which they hurled destruction and death on their enemies.

The fortifications of Rhodes were so strong as to be considered impregnable. The wall surrounding the city had been repaired, and the whole place fitted up to withstand the expected siege.

The Ottoman army made their attack from Mount St. Stephen, with some heavy artillery ; and they soon so injured the wall as to give them hopes of carrying the place by assault ; but they were beaten back with great loss. The wall on the Jew's side of the city was next tried, and being old, soon began to tremble under the heavy shot of the enemy.—The Grand Master, seeing this, built a new wall and ditch within the old one. In this work, the ladies, Jewesses ; well as Christians, assisted, carrying heavy burdens, which n

one could have thought them capable of moving.* Meantime, the breach in the wall continued to increase, and the Turks now thinking themselves certain of their prey, and impatient to seize it, again mounted the ruins to the assault. But what was their astonishment and rage to find a new and stronger wall within the old one. The Pacha, now seeing little hopes of taking Aubusson, resolved to have him poisoned, and with this view sent two men to him, who pretended to be deserters from the enemy. This plan also failed, for their designs being discovered, they were immediately cut in pieces by the populace. The Turks, ashamed that this infamous design should have been discovered, and enraged that it did not succeed, now determined to sacrifice every thing rather than abandon the place. The fort, called the tower of St. Nicholas, was separated from the Turkish camp by a canal, and as this was the point on which the attack was to be made, the Pacha ordered a bridge to be taken from another place to the point most convenient for his soldiers to cross. This was done under cover of night, and the Ottomans began to cross not only by means of the bridge, but in boats also. The Knights, always on the alert, could hear, though they did not see what their enemies were doing. So soon, therefore, as the bridge was full of soldiers, and the canal of boats, Aubusson ordered his cannon to be directed towards the place from whence the noise came. The battle was furious, and the destruction of the infidels terrible. The Grand Master's fire-ships attacked the galleys of the enemy, at the same time his cannon was sweeping the bridge. "Nothing," says Mignot, "was comparable to the horrors of this night; the cries of those who beheld the fire approaching them, the groans of the wounded, the vortices of flame and smoke, the noise of the artillery, every thing rendered the combatants furious: they touched nothing but dead bodies and arms." At length the day came to give light to this carnage; the breach in the wall, and the sea, were covered with bodies, some of which were half burnt; with darts, arrows, turbans, and the wreck of galleys still burning. As soon as the Knights could see the bridge covered with soldiers, they broke it down with their cannon, every person on it being drowned.

Again the Pacha returned to the attack, and after a continual cannonade for four days, again opened a breach in the

* See Hawkins's Mignot.

wall. But the fate of battle was still on the side of the Knights. The Turks were repulsed with a great slaughter.

The Pacha, finding that the Grand Master was to be subdued neither by arms, treachery, nor poison, began to
 1481. think of negotiation, and an honourable capitulation was offered to the besieged. Some of the people, worn out with fatigue, sickened with the sight of carnage and misery, and doubting what would be the result of the combat, were in favour of accepting his terms. But Aubusson, irritated at such an opinion, exclaimed, "Gentlemen, if there be any one among you who does not think himself safe in this place, the gate is not so closely blocked up but I can let him out."*

This was sufficient. Every man returned to his duty, with a determination to defend his city to the last extremity, and no answer was returned. The Turk now swore he would have the whole city put to the sword. He even ordered a quantity of stakes to be sharpened for the purpose of empaling the Grand Master and his principal Knights. He promised the pillage to the soldiers, if they would take the city, and the attack was again commenced with redoubled fury. A breach was once more made in the wall, and the Turks in great numbers mounted the bastions. But such was the cool and deliberate courage with which the Knights received them, that they were either run through, or thrown down from the wall. Aubusson, though twice wounded, still kept his ground, and his blood so animated the courage of the Knights and soldiers, that they took immediate revenge by clearing the ramparts of every Turk remaining. The Pacha finding that every effort to possess himself of Rhodes served only to reduce his army, now already diminished one half, and panic-struck at the consequences of the last assault, suddenly withdrew to Constantinople.

Soon after this event, Mahomet levied two numerous
 1482. armies, the one destined to go against the King of Persia, and the other against Rhodes. But in the execution of these great projects, and greatly to the relief of the Christian world, that King, whose power had been exercised over so many thousands—the king of terrors—seized and put him off.

* See Mignot.

Greece, or some of her islands, as though destined to be the perpetual seat of war from age to age, did not long remain in repose after the death of Mahomet. His son, Bajazet the Second, who succeeded him, had too much of his father's disposition to remain long in peace. The Venetians, who possessed a considerable portion of Greece, had become too commercial and thriving a people, not to excite the jealousy or cupidity of the Turks. Some pretended commercial difficulties became a pretext for the declaration of war on the part of Bajazet, and large preparations were made on both sides for the contest.

The Ottoman fleet amounted to two hundred and fifty sail; that of the Venetians to about a hundred and forty sail. An engagement took place, during which the Christians had every prospect of success, until on a sudden, the Turks discharged a shower of inflamed arrows, which set fire to the sails of the Venetian vessels, and afterwards to the vessels themselves. This unexpected disaster gave the victory to the infidels. The Venetian fleet was chiefly burned, or otherwise destroyed, and a great number of sailors perished miserably in the flames, or being forced into the water, were drowned.

The Turks, following up their victory, laid siege to the city of Lepanto, of which they made themselves masters in a few days. The city of Modon, though strongly fortified, was next to fall into their hands. The immense booty which the Turkish soldiers found here did not prevent them from putting the defenceless inhabitants to the sword. The city of Coron was menaced with the same fate; but the governor determined, notwithstanding, to make good his defence. The people, however, hearing of the shocking barbarities committed in Modon, shut him up in his house and made terms of capitulation with the Turks. The enemy, now having no opportunity of selling the slaves they had already taken, and not wanting more, put every person to death they could find.

At this period the kingdom of Naples fell into the hands of the Spaniards by conquest, and the famous Spanish Captain Gonzalo de Cordova, immediately joined the Venetians against the Turks, with a fleet of thirty sail. The infidels now in their turn were pursued, and many of their ships destroyed. Bajazet, seeing that the fortune of war had turned against him, proposed terms of peace, which were gladly accepted by the Venetians. Thus ended a war of depredation and massacre, which had laid waste, and nearly depopulated some of the finest provinces in Greece.

The Ottoman empire now enjoyed an unwonted tranquillity with all the surrounding nations for several years. And the Grecian states, though under the servitude of a master from whom kindness was not to be expected, yet enjoyed an exemption from the horrors of war to which they had so long been familiar. But the followers of Mahomet are by nature too jealous and restless to remain long in peace even with each other.

Bajazet, who now lived in profound repose at Constantinople, had five sons who had arrived to the age of manhood. Two of these he caused to be strangled, on pretext of disobedience, or some other slight offence. Of the three that remained, Achmet, the oldest, was the one most beloved by the father. To free himself from the cares of the throne, Bajazet, now advanced in years, thought of placing Achmet on it; still, however, reserving to himself his authority in the government, to be employed as occasion might require. The temperament of Achmet was, however, too pacific, and his habits too tranquil, to please a soldiery whose only riches consisted in plunder, and whose only glory in the shedding of human blood. The abdication in favour of this son was, therefore, a matter of too much importance to the Janizaries, now the ruling power, to be quietly permitted. They sought some occasion against him, and finally decided among themselves that he should never ascend the throne.

Meantime they sent a deputation to Selim, the youngest son of Bajazet, then in a distant province, to inquire into his character for war, and to ascertain whether the title of Emperor would be a sufficient inducement to dethrone his father. The delegation found in this young man the elements of all they could wish. He was ambitious, courageous, & cruel. The idea of possessing his father's throne, though by violence, was delightful to him. An army of two thousand men was immediately raised through his intercession, and he crossed the Bosphorus, pretending that he was to perform the sacred duty of visiting his father.

The Sultan, suspecting the dutiful designs of his son, sent out a more powerful army, by whom he was defeated, and for a time this unnatural rebellion was suppressed.

Meantime the Janizaries being determined to place on the throne, sent another delegation, inviting him to take command of the Sultan's troops, who were in revolt in his favor. But being taught by his late experience, he would not hazard such an enterprise, lest he should

every thing. Could the European garrisons and the Janizaries be induced to rise as a body, and take part in his enterprise, so that there could be no fear of failure, he would then come and occupy the throne thus prepared for him.

Accordingly, Selim arrived in Constantinople, under the pious pretext of paying his respects to his father. He brought no troops with him, but the Janizaries marched with their arms to his camp, and the European troops joined his standard. The people hearing of Selim's arrival, exclaimed in the streets, that the glory of the empire, and of the Ottoman arms, was about to revive, while the miserable Bajazet remained in his divan chilled with terror.*

The Sultan, seeing that his son, his army, his people, and the Europeans were against him, thought of nothing but resigning his sceptre, and retiring, to spend the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity. He therefore left the city, and was retiring to a place of refuge, when his barbarous and unnatural son, pretending to suspect his father of conspiring against him, sent orders to a Jewish physician to poison him, which was immediately done.

Under the reign of Selim, the Greeks enjoyed a comparative state of repose. Their servitude was in no degree lessened, but they possessed nothing worthy of the rapacious arms of the conqueror of Egypt and Grand Cairo.

* See Hawkins's Mignot, vol. 1. p. 240.

CHAPTER VII.

Death of Selim.—Solyman the First ascends the throne.—His love of conquest.—Siege of Belgrade.—Collects and sells religious relics.—He besieges the Island of Rhodes.—Solyman goes to Rhodes to encourage his troops.—Vigorous defence of the city by the Knights.—Proposals for Capitulation.—City taken, and the inhabitants leave the Island.—Greece enjoys a period of repose.—Solyman plunders Corfu, and other Islands.—Siege of Malta, and defeat of the Turks.—Solyman issues an edict against crimes.—Takes Scio, and establishes Mahometanism in the Island.—Death of Solyman.—Selim the second ascends the throne.—He proves to be a weak and cowardly Prince.—Besieges the cities of Cyprus.—Takes Nicosia, and other cities, and finally makes himself master of the whole Island.

ON the death of Selim, which happened in 1520, Solyman L, surnamed the magnificent, ascended the throne.

The hereditary spirit of conquest which had so long actuated the emperors of Constantinople, had descended to Solyman in its fulness. His predecessors had left little or nothing worthy his arms in Asia, he therefore determined to turn them against Europe. His ministers to the king of Hungary, had been insulted by the populace. This was a sufficient excuse for the acts of hostility which Solyman meditated. He immediately sent an army to besiege Belgrade, which soon fell into his hands. Here he found many religious relics which had been long venerated by the pious followers of the cross. Solyman ordered them to be carefully collected, and carried to Constantinople, where they were shown to devout Christians for money. He then sold them to the Greek patriarch for 12,000 ducats, which he ordered him to raise for this purpose from those of his communion.

The arms of the Porte, as we have seen, had been, under the reign of Mahomet, turned against the Island of Rhodes, but without success. Solyman determined if possible to remove the stigma on the glory of the Ottoman arms, which the defeat of his predecessor had occasioned. He therefore wrote to the Grand Master, L'ile Adam, giving him formal notice of his intention.

The Knights made preparation for their defence, by repairing the fortifications of Rhodes, and by burning and destroying every thing on the island, on which the enemy might subsist.

Solyman's fleet consisted of 400 sail, on board of which were an army of 150,000 men. The Grand Master, against this immense force, could muster only 6,000 men. The Sultan, before the attack began, offered the Knights and their soldiers life and liberty, if they would surrender; otherwise he declared he would put them every one to the sword, and reduce their towers and walls to the height of the herb that grew at his feet.

For a long time after the siege commenced, no impression was made on the walls of the city; while the Turks were destroyed in great numbers by the cannon of the besieged.

Solyman, hearing that his arms were resisted by a handful of men, came himself to the scene of action. By encouragements and threats, he caused the attack to be made with greater vigour. But the Knights defended themselves with such courage and ability, that the enemy did not dare to attempt an assault, until they had battered the walls for two successive months. The assault was finally made on the five principal posts, called France, Spain, Italy, Germany, England. These posts were so named, because their defence was entrusted to Knights belonging to these different nations. Notwithstanding all the fury, as well as confidence, with which this attack was made, the valour and personal strength of the besieged, was more than proof against the number of their enemies. The Sultan, who saw that his best soldiers perished by thousands, and that after an assault of six hours, the Knights stood their ground undaunted, and ready to deal death on every Turk that approached them, with shame and vexation, sounded a retreat."

The Sultan lost 20,000 men in this attack. He was about to raise the siege and leave the place, when information was given him, by a letter conveyed to his camp, by means of an arrow, that the Knights were in want of powder, that they had lost many soldiers, and could not possibly hold out much longer.

The Turks, in consequence of this information, renewed their efforts with such fury, that, by relieving one another, they kept up an incessant fire upon the city night and day. The Knights and their soldiers being too few in number to relieve each other, were thus kept constantly on duty.

Breaches were finally made in the walls, which the Knights could defend only with the greatest difficulty and hazard. Their ammunition began to fail, and their provisions were nearly consumed. Being reduced to such extremities, the authorities of the city, and the citizens themselves, went to the Grand Master, and conjured him to save the lives of the remaining inhabitants, and spare the future effusion of blood, by a capitulation. To this he finally consented, and the terms being agreed on between him and the Sultan, the Rhodians were allowed to leave their city without molestation. The Sultan, jealous of his honour as a warrior, saw all the articles of agreement carried into effect. He even praised the valour of the Grand Master, and treated him with respect and kindness. The Knights could not, without the greatest sorrow, leave a place which they and their fathers had possessed for more than 200 years, and which they had before defended, to the astonishment of all the world, and where they had raised the martial glory of their order to the highest pitch of fame. The inhabitants, to the number of 4000, left the island, under the protection of these brave warriors.

The Turks, by their own concession, lost 40,000 men in the siege and capture of this place. Thus, from the mere love of conquest, did Solyman the First destroy and utterly ruin a city and country, which for ages was the most venerated spot on the earth. The splendour of its palaces, the richness and magnificence of its cities, and the glory of its arms, dazzled the world, while the justice and wisdom of its laws, and the munificence of its public works, were examples worthy the imitation of all other nations.

From this period, Greece and its islands enjoyed, for several years, an exemption from war. The Venetians possessed many of the islands of the Archipelago, which they strongly fortified, Solyman, meantime, extended his conquests into Hungary, Germany, and Persia, carrying fire and sword wherever he went.

Having returned to his capital with his victorious armies he enjoyed, or rather permitted surrounding nations to enjoy a short period of repose. But his Janizaries, inured to enrich themselves by plunder, could not long be restrained in state of inaction. The Venetians were suspected of a sign to violate a treaty which they had made with the Por This was considered a sufficient excuse to send an ar

against them. The island of Corfu was accordingly pillaged, and a vast amount of booty, and many of the inhabitants, fell into the hands of the Ottomans, and were sold as slaves. The islands of Skiros, Patmos, Staphalia, and Paros, were also taken possession of, and treated in the same manner.

Solyman, not contented to witness the enjoyment of liberty in any Christian state, now turned his arms against the island of Malta; but after a long siege, during which the greatest barbarities were committed, he was finally obliged to relinquish his prey and retire. The mortification occasioned by this defeat, was too great to be endured in silence. On his arrival at Constantinople, he proclaimed that the cause of this disgrace on the Ottoman arms, was the wickedness of the people. The sins of wine drinking, and the neglect of attendance at public prayers, were enumerated as the chief causes of this calamity. Against these and other crimes, he published an edict, ordering that every omission or commission, should be punished with fine, severe bastinado, or death. Not contented with venting his spleen on Mussulmen only, and being always willing to persecute Christians, the island of Scio also shared in the effects of his rage. This island was inhabited only by manufacturers and traders. They had been so peaceable as hardly to know the use of iron, or steel, except in the cultivation of their fields, or the manufacture of their silks.* This quiet little community, Solyman singled out for destruction. All who had any share in the government, he seized, and banished to various places in his dominions. The people and island he delivered up to rapine and pillage; and, with his usual barbarity, established Mahometanism by the same means with which he destroyed Christianity.

On the death of Solyman, Selim the second was raised to the throne of Constantinople. This prince was so weak and cowardly, that he was in constant apprehension from his Janizaries, who he thought sought some occasion to put him to death. He therefore was under strong inducements to keep these restless and blood-thirsty soldiers constantly in the field of battle, or to employ them in some country which they could pillage and destroy at their leisure. The Pachas of Selim represented to their master, that the island of Cyprus was an object worthy the Ottoman

* Hawkins's Mignet, vol. II. p. 117.

arms, and that it offered a field for plunder adequate even to the cupidity of the Janizaries. No objections were made to this project on account of the treaty of alliance, which existed between the Venetians, who possessed the island, and the Porte. The Grand Vizier, though ready to break the treaty, thought that Cyprus contained too many fortified towns for such an enterprise; but the Pachas persuaded the Sultan that the more formidable the place, the more glory would redound to his arms, and besides that, the longer the Janizaries were abroad, the longer his Highness would enjoy the sweets of repose at home.

Having resolved in Divan to possess themselves of this happy and beautiful island, the next step was to find some pretext for breaking a treaty, every article of which the Venetians had scrupulously observed. The Divan sent an Ambassador to the Senate with orders to complain, though it was difficult to find any subject of complaint. The Turks, however, made it a point of religion, not only to undertake none but just wars, but always to precede their hostile acts by a solemn declaration.* In the present instance, the Venetians were accused of assisting in the late Hungarian war, and of permitting freebooters to molest the Turkish commerce. The Venetian Ambassador at the Porte, seeing that Selim only wanted work for his Janizaries, tried to point out to him some other country, equally advantageous for such a purpose. But the Divan was not to be diverted from its purpose. An Ambassador was therefore sent to Venice to make a formal claim of the island of Cyprus, and to declare war, if this demand was refused. The Venetians called in the aid of the Christian powers of Europe to defend against the further encroachments of the infidels into Christendom:—But the spirit which animated the Crusaders had long since become extinct, and the state of Europe was such, as to demand the care of each nation, for its internal concerns.—Spain, and Pope Pius V., however, promised some succours. The Ottoman forces were soon assembled, and embarked in two hundred vessels, on board of which were eighty thousand troops, twenty thousand of which were Janizaries.

The city of Nicosia was first besieged. This stood in the midst of a fertile plain, and was strongly fortified. Dondolo, a noble Venetian, who commanded the place, depended chiefly for its defence, on fifteen hundred of his countrymen,

* See Hawkins's Mignet.

although there were ten thousand citizens there, who were able to bear arms. With such a disproportion between the forces, Nicosia could only hold out for a month. Dondolo was obliged to capitulate, and with a promise that the lives of the inhabitants should be spared, the gates were opened to the vanquishers. But instead of keeping this promise, on entering the city, every one they met was put to the sword. Streams of blood flowed in every part of the city, and the groans of the dying, and the screams of dismay, were mixed with the shouts of the victors.*

Fifteen thousand defenceless men, women, and children, were massacred, in the streets and houses; and twenty-five thousand men, whom they thought fit for slavery, were bound in chains, and saved alive, only to be sold into bondage. This rich and flourishing city was entirely given up to pillage—its females, celebrated for their beauty and accomplishments, were forced to share the beds of the brutal janizaries, or saved to lead a still more miserable life in the seraglio of the Sultan.

Several of these females, of illustrious families and great beauty, knowing their horrid destiny, determined to avoid it by a voluntary death. They had been but on board a vessel, loaded with booty and bound to Constantinople. One of them having pointed to the others, the fate which awaited them, in the harem of the Sultan, they all agreed to prevent it, and at the same time deprive the barbarians of their rich booty. They therefore found means to set fire to the magazine, and thus, at once destroyed themselves, the vessel, and the infidels.

1570. Having destroyed Nicosia, the Turks next laid siege to Famagusta, a city on the south side of the island. This place was better fortified than Nicosia, and surrounded by a forest of orange and lemon trees, which the besiegers immediately destroyed. Bragadin, the commander of the place, had taken care that his fortifications should be put in the best possible state of defence. Mustapha, Selim's commander, found that the siege went on slowly, and that he could make but little impression on the walls of his enemy; he therefore, for the present, turned the siege into a blockade, and went himself to examine, and ravage all the open towns throughout the island. He wished to ascertain the value of his conquest, which he now considered as cer-

* See Hawkins's *Mignot*.

tain. Meanwhile Bragadin and his soldiers had not remained idle. They repaired the walls, re-cast some pieces of cannon, and made preparations for a vigorous defence.

Mustapha returned to the siege, reinforced with 20,000 men. The siege and defence were conducted with great skill and vigour. The women, on this occasion, did not leave their husbands to defend the place alone, but were constantly on the ramparts, assisting and encouraging them to acts of heroism. The fate of their sister town, and the want of confidence in the faith of their enemies, made them reject all ideas of surrender, so long as even hope remained. After four months and a half siege, not one single prisoner was made on either side. It was a war of extermination. The Cyprians would neither give nor receive quarter. Christians, driven to despair, became as relentless and cruel as the Turks. Dreadful slaughter was made on both sides. Three fourths of the defenders of the place were killed by the Turkish cannon, and the walls became no longer defensible. In this condition it was expected that on the next assault, the whole city must meet with inevitable death by the swords of the Turks. To avert so fearful an event, Bragadin, after many remonstrances from the people against holding out longer, consented to a capitulation. Hostages were exchanged, and it was agreed that the citizens should march out with arms, baggage, and cannon, and that those who wished to leave the island should be provided with vessels to transport them to Candia. Those who remained were to have their liberty, and the free exercise of their religion, and their property was to remain untouched. These terms being signed by Mustapha, the gates of the city were thrown open, and the soldiers entered. But so far from abiding by the terms of the treaty, they began immediately to commit disorders. Of this, Bragadin made complaint to the Turks, but without effect.

He then went to the Pacha's tent, attended by some Venetians, to remind him of his treaty, and if possible to prevail on him to keep it inviolate. Instead of being soothed by the appeal in behalf of the sufferings of the people, stuck with admiration at the presence of the noble patriotic Bragadin, Mustapha ordered all these noble captives loaded with chains, telling them at the same time, with a barbarous smile, that if Christ did not wrest them from their hands, they might expect to perish.* Those who

* Hawkins's Mignot.

paring to embark for Candia, he also seized and bound as slaves to the Sultan, his master. All who had accompanied Bragadin, he ordered to be beheaded in presence of that aged patriot. Bragadin himself he reserved for more refined cruelty. Having first loaded him with stones, and put him to the hardest and most menial services, he then flayed him alive, had his skin stripped off, which was stuffed with straw, and carried to Constantinople as a trophy.*

The arrogance and infidelity of the Turks had raised the indignation of all surrounding Christian nations, while their conquests and their barbarities were the cause of universal alarm and terror.

The application of the Venetians to the neighbouring nations for assistance, had not been answered by any effective means, until the surrender of Cyprus. But the confederates now found themselves ready to put to sea, with a fleet consisting of two hundred and twenty galleys. This powerful armament was commanded by that celebrated Admiral, Don John, of Austria.

The Turkish fleet, consisting of 300 sail, with more courage than wisdom, had entered the Gulf of Lepanto, a narrow strait, where their superior numbers could be of no advantage to them. Ali Pacha, the commander, began to repent of this rashness, when he saw John approach him with a fleet, which, in a strait line, extended from shore to shore.

The battle began with great fury on both sides; but the Turkish line was soon broken, by the more skilful management, of both vessels and guns, on the part of the Venetians. The two admiral galleys attacked each other with equal vigour and determination to conquer. But after a most obstinate engagement, Ali, and almost all his men, were killed, and his galley taken. The victory on the part of the confederates was complete. The Turkish fleet, with the exception of 30 sail, was taken or destroyed, and 30,000 of their men perished. Fifteen thousand Christian galley slaves were liberated, in consequence of this victory. These miserable men, in truth, assisted the confederates in the work of destruction, for no sooner than the force of a galley became so weak as to be mastered by the Christians on board, they declared for their brethen, and assisted them in dispatching the remainder of their tyrannical masters.

* Hawkins's *Mignot*.

The news of this defeat spread consternation among the Turks. Selim, in the fury and despair of the moment, ordered all the Christians in Constantinople to be slaughtered. But his ministers represented to him, that such a course would betray the greatest want of policy, and indeed would be a greater loss than that he had already met with, since they could not re-build their navy without the help of Christian artists. The Sultan, therefore, consulting his pecuniary interest, revoked this barbarous order. But such was the dread which this signal victory produced at Constantinople, and such the apprehension for the safety of that city, that the Sultan removed, for a time, to Adrianople, as a place of greater security. A new fleet was built with the utmost dispatch. The treasures of the mosques were opened for this purpose, and workmen were brought from Asia, Europe, and Africa. No expense was spared which could facilitate this work; the hulks, masts, and rigging were made at the same time, so that in less than six months a fleet of 200 galleys, completely equipped, covered the port of Constantinople.

Meantime, the cowardly Sultan remained trembling with fear, at Adrianople; nor dared again to visit his capital, until the joyful news reached him that his fleet was launched, and the city secure against his confederated enemies.

The Turkish fleet immediately put to sea, to seek their enemies and prosecute the war. But the Venetians, worn down with a struggle, in which they had gained no solid advantage, but had lost a large and fertile territory in the island of Cyprus, were desirous of making peace. Their ambassador at Constantinople, therefore, received orders to negotiate, and after much difficulty and delay it was settled that the Turks should retain all their conquests, and that the Venetians should pay them 300,000 ducats, by three equal payments.

From this period, the Christians of the Mediterranean enjoyed a long exemption from the barbarities and conquests of the Turks. The Emperors who succeeded Selim, during several reigns, turned their arms against some of the Asiatic nations, or were engaged in quelling repeated insurrections in their own dominions. The ancient Greek possession of the island of Cyprus had for a long period been in the hands of some foreign power, and had been taken, and re-taken, it appears, very frequently. The considerable interference of the Greeks then in their condition as vassals and slaves, deprived them of the means of doing any thing towards their own defence.

true, that in a choice of masters, Christians were preferred to Turks. But it is also true, that their servitude, and the horrid barbarities which they had so long witnessed, and which they had even practised, had extinguished their ancient patriotism, and greatly lowered the standard of religious principle among them.

During the reigns of Amurath III., Mahomet III., Achmet I., Mustapha I., and Amureth IV., history relates nothing of particular interest concerning the Greeks of the Mediterranean. The arms of their predecessors had reduced to bondage the finest parts of Greece Proper, and most of the surrounding islands. The Venetians still possessed Candia, Tinos, Cerigo, and several other islands, and were under an alliance with the Turks, which they took great care not to violate. But during the reign of Ibrahim I. an occasion was taken to violate this treaty, and to open the way for one of the most bloody wars of the time.

1644. A slave of the seraglio being banished from Constantinople, with her infant child and retinue, the pomp with which the banishment was conducted made the people believe that this was a sultanness, and the child a young prince. In the course of their voyage, the vessels which carried them, took shelter in the port of Rhodes. The knights of Malta hearing of the embarkation, and being willing to repay themselves for some of the expense they had formerly been at to defend their island against the Turks, took possession of this little fleet, and the supposed young prince. After the capture the knights retired into one of the ports of the island of Candia, then in possession of the Venetians. The news of this outrage on the vessels of the Porte, produced great indignation at the capital. The Sultan vowed destruction to the whole order of the knights of Malta; and his vizier bitterly reproached the Venetian ambassador, accusing his republic as an accomplice with the knights. Preparations were made, apparently, to carry the emperor's vow into effect; but his ministers, remembering their former attempts to reduce Malta, represented to him, that that island, if taken, would be found only a barren rock, and of no use to him whatever.—That since the Candians might be brought in as accomplices in the outrage committed on the empire, it would be just to take their island from them; and that such an acquisition to his possessions in the Mediterranean, would greatly strengthen his power there, while it would tend as much to weaken that of the Venetians.

Ibrahim was pleased with these prospects, and the expedition against Candia, was accordingly resolved on ; but lest the Venetians should prepare themselves for the approaching contest, it was given out at the Porte, that the expedition, for which great preparations were making, was to be sent against Malta.

The Ottoman fleet set sail in the spring of 1645, and consisted of upwards of four hundred vessels, of various sizes. On their arrival at Tinos, an island in the Ægean sea which belonged to the Venetians, they were received and treated as friends. At Cerigo, another island belonging to the Republic, they received the customary present of coffee and sugar, and assured the inhabitants of their good intentions. The fleet next sailed directly for Candia, and the army landed without opposition.

The Capitan Pacha also took possession of the city of Canea, without opposition, the Governor retiring to his garrison, and the inhabitants to the city of Retimo. The latter city was then besieged and taken ; but from this time the Turks made no farther progress towards the conquest of the island for the term of four years, when they reinforced their troops, and laid siege to Candia, the capital.

The knights of Malta, to the number of sixty, each having a company of a hundred soldiers, assisted the Venetians in this celebrated defence. The Turks were resisted with the most consummate skill, and one half their army soon destroyed. The Capitan Pacha was obliged to retire to Retimo, until reinforcements could arrive, lest he should not preserve a sufficient number of men to defend the country he had already conquered. The Turkish army lay at Retimo for four years, without receiving any succours from the Porte. The Venetians meanwhile were prevented from driving them out of the island by some misunderstanding among themselves and the Sultan was deterred from prosecuting the Candian war in consequence of disorders at home, and other wars in which he was engaged.

At length the Grand Vizier Kiuperli, a general of great celebrity, proposed to conduct, in person, the war against the republic. The magnitude of the preparations made was sufficient to show the consequence attached to the reduction of that island at the Porte. More than one hundred thousand fighting men were embarked as a reinforcement to the army already there.

The Venetians, aware of those mighty preparations, sent to Malta for further succours, and they also applied to the King of France for assistance against the common enemy of Christianity. Lewis replied, by sending them seven thousand troops commanded by the Duke of Beaufort, admiral of France. The Pope of Rome, as chief defender of the Christian faith, had before rendered the Venetians considerable assistance by sending vessels, men, and money. A great number of volunteers also arrived from various nations, but particularly from France, from whence came many gentlemen of the highest distinction. Candia was considered the barrier which was to prevent the further conquests of the infidels in Europe. This war was therefore in defence of Christianity, and against the abominations of Mahometanism. And perhaps no struggle between nations was ever carried on with greater bitterness, greater courage, or more skill.

This war has been compared to that of Troy, which it resembled in its length, and in the obstinacy of the last siege, which continued for more than two years, and was one of the most sanguinary mentioned in history.*

The Turks showed great knowledge of the military art on this occasion, while the confederates made all exertions, and took advantage of all the circumstances, that seemed possible for valour and conduct, in opposition to such superior armaments.† Kiuperli, the Grand Vizier, had so fortified himself without the city, as to bring his cannon to bear upon its walls constantly. Assaults were repeated three or four times every day. Sometimes a bastion would change masters as often, and each time be sprinkled with the blood of Infidels, or Christians.

One hundred and ten thousand Turks perished before the city, and thirty-one thousand Christians were killed in the place.

Finally, after a war of fifteen years, and a siege of two years and five months, Candia could no longer be defended. The Christians had been reduced to three thousand, and the city and its walls were literally a mass of ruins.

A capitulation was signed by the contending powers, and 1660. it is due to the memory of the Grand Vizier, Kiuperli, to state, that this treaty was carried into full effect, and that the vanquished were treated in the most honourable and humane manner.

* Hawkim's Mignet.

† Modern Europe.

All the inhabitants who survived had permission to leave the place, so that when the Turks entered the city, which they did in triumph, they found only thirty people remaining.—From that time to the present, the beautiful and fertile island of Candia, which once contained an hundred cities, has been under the despotism of the Turks. At present its inhabitants amount to about three hundred thousand, of which about one half are Ottomans, the other half Greeks and Jews.

After a twenty years' peace between the Turks and Venetians, founded on the treaty of Candia, the infidels committed some outrages on the flag of that proud and powerful republic, which was the occasion of a formal declaration of war.

On this occasion the Mainotes of the Morea, who claim the Spartans for their ancestors, and who retain all the hardiness, agility, and courage of that warlike nation, became the allies of the Venetians. The war was prosecuted with great vigour and ferocity on both sides; but in the Morea the allies had altogether the advantage of their adversaries. The Turks were defeated before Coron and Calamata, and had lost two battles beside. The Capitan Pacha, for his own safety was obliged to flee, and took refuge in the island of Rhodes, where, however, he did not think himself in safety until the port was shut with a chain.

During the after campaigns, the infidels not only gained nothing, but lost considerable portions of ancient 1687. Greece. In that of 1687, General Morosini beat the Seraskier of the Morea in many battles, and took from him Patras, Lepanto, Misitra, Lacedemonia, Corinth, and Athens. In short, all the Morea, and the whole province of Attica, fell into the hands of the Venetians.

The Venetians, however, soon found that their allies, the Mainotes, had no thought of submitting to a new master, because they had got rid of an old one. Under the Turkish government they had been allowed the free exercise of their religion, which was that of the Greek communion.—Their alliance with the Venetians had been the means of introducing among them many zealous priests of the Latin communion. These Italians, enemies to toleration, had so much influence with the authorities, as to get an order issued, to restrain the reading of the Greek liturgy, and even to demolish several churches. The hardy Mainotes spurned such treatment, and determined not to submit. They asked the Porte a governor of their own communion. A Main

slave who had been long in servitude under a Turkish master, was selected for this purpose. He arrived in his own country with the sword, mace, and investiture of the Sultan, and raised the standard of rebellion. His countrymen, enthusiastic in the cause of their religion, at once threw off all allegiance to the Venetians, and joined the standard of their deliverer. Little blood was shed in this revolution, since the Latins, being spread all over the country of the Mainotes, could not collect a sufficient number in time to prevent its becoming general.

The other provinces of the Morea remained at peace with the Venetians, though it was by no means certain that the inhabitants considered their condition any better under the Latin Christians, than under the Mahometans. But however the Greeks might have felt on this exchange of masters, the Turks were exceedingly irritated, that the Christians should possess so fine a country which was once tributary to their government. They therefore only waited a convenient opportunity to again attempt its reduction.

Internal commotion and foreign wars had long absorbed the sole attention of the Porte; but after the departure of Charles of Sweden from his confinement at the capital, the Turkish empire enjoyed a profound repose. The Janizaries, as usual, having nothing to do, had become troublesome, and even dangerous to their master. They required enemies for the exercise of their swords, and plunder to enrich themselves. The Morea was a country which presented ample rewards to the conqueror, and the Venetians had long since been guilty of wresting it from its rightful owners.

These considerations were sufficient, and it was decreed in Divan that the Morea should again be taken under the protection of the Porte.

Considerable preparations were made for this expedition, and the surrounding nations saw that some foreign country was menaced, but no one knew which. The Knights of Malta prepared to make good their defence against their old enemies, and several other powers kept an eye of suspicion on these preparations for war. The Venetians were, however, lulled into a fatal security. They believed that the Ottoman armament was intended to act against their neighbours, but not against themselves.

The Venetians had only eight thousand men on which they could depend, for the defence of the whole of the Morea. As soon as Delphino, the Governor, learned that the

Turkish fleet was on the Grecian coast, he distributed a small force among the most important places, and made the best disposition for defence in his power.

1718. Meanwhile the Capitan Pacha arrived with his army, consisting of 70,000 veteran Janizaries and soldiers, at the island of Cerigo, on the southern coast of Greece. This island surrendered without drawing a sword, and the Pacha caused it to be dismantled of its fortifications. The inhabitants he transported into Africa. The army then landed on the main, and soon took possession of the Isthmus of Corinth, the key of the Morea. Napoli di Romania was next taken, and in succession every other town in the Morea. The Governor saw with regret and surprise that the whole of that great country was destined again to fall under the Turkish bondage. But he saw also, that any opposition he could make against a force so overwhelming, would only be delivering his troops up to the Ottoman sword. Many of the Greeks too, rather encouraged this conquest than opposed it. The persecution by the Latins, under the Venetian government, had been such as to hinder the peaceable exercise of their religious rites, and they hoped for the liberty of partaking their communion, and of reading their liturgy, with more freedom under the domination of the Turks.



CHAPTER VIII.

Greeks join the Russians against Turkey.—Idea of driving the Turks from Europe.—Catharine proposes to free Greece.—Political state of Greece.—Defects of the Grecian character.—Astonishing that they are not still more debased.—They bear the Turkish yoke with impatience.—Possess a manly courage.—Ambitious to become waywodes.—Danger attending that office.—Proposition to slaughter all the Greeks.—Turkish right of possession.—Greeks never admitted to the rights of citizens.—Massacre of Greeks in the Morea.—Turks always faithless.—War between Russia and Turkey.—Empress sends manifestoes to Greece.—Captain Psaro.—Delegates sent to the Empress.—Their Memorial.—Plan to raise an army in Greece and invade Turkey.—Constantine to be Emperor of Constantinople.—Arrival of General Tamara in Greece.—

Bravery of Lambro.—Failure of the expedition.—Peace between Turkey and Russia.

HAVING in the preceding chapters given a rapid sketch of the condition and vicissitudes of Greece and several of its islands, from the time of the Roman invasion, to 1718, when the Morea was re-taken by the Turks, we now shall hasten to the period when the Greeks began to think of their emancipation.

In the war between Russia and Turkey, which happened several years anterior to the period of which an account will presently be given, the Greeks took up arms and joined the Russians. The progress made against the Turkish power in Europe, during that war, which continued from 1769 to 1774, was very considerable; and, according to the opinion of Mr. Eton, had the Russian admiral been a man of experience or enterprise, it might have ended in the total expulsion of the Turks from Europe. It was probably the acquaintance which arose during this war, and the knowledge which the Russians obtained of the miserable servitude of the Greeks, that laid the foundation of an attempt to effect their emancipation. Their country as we have stated, had been the scene of perpetual conflicts between foreign nations, but the Greeks themselves had never taken up arms with a determination of freeing themselves entirely from the power of foreigners. A change of masters, or a removal of a heavier for a lighter burthen, appears to have been all they had ever attempted, or even thought of.

To Peter the Great is attributed the first conception of restoring the empire of the east, and of driving the Ottomans from Europe. This project was pursued with earnestness by his successors; and Catharine, whatever her real object might have been, was the first potentate who seriously proposed to free Greece from the power of the infidels. The political state of Greece, and the character of its inhabitants at that period, we will recite from Mr. Eton, who, though in some instances, perhaps too partial to the Greeks, was still well informed on this subject. The present struggle shows that his views and opinions did not want foundation. "The political state of Greece," says he,* "has long announced to the attentive observer that explosion which late events seem to have happily promoted. Greece can no longer sub-

* Eton's Survey of the Turkish Empire, p. 320.

mit to the Turkish yoke ; she pants for emancipation, and already aspires to be ranked among the independent states of Europe. The rise, or rather the renovation, of her power will form an important era in European politics : to appreciate its probable consequences, we must consider the past and present circumstances of that famous country ; we must recur to the eclipse of her former splendour by the Turkish conquest, to the long night of barbarism and oppression in which she has been overwhelmed, and to those struggles which of late years have shown that she is about to awake to the assertion of her native rights.

“ It is not here my intention to trace the details of classic story, to describe those heroic ages when the splendour of genius and illumination of science seemed to be concentrated within the narrow boundaries of Greece, and by their irradiation to communicate animation and improvement to surrounding nations ; it will be sufficient for me to call to the remembrance of the scholar some of the brightest pages in the history of mankind ; it will be sufficient to cite the names of those poets and orators, those statesmen and moralists, whose illustrious deeds, and whose admirable precepts, still extort the applauses of the universe.

“ India and Egypt had for many preceding ages cultivated the arts ; but these countries were only the cradle of knowledge ; when transported to the genial climate of Greece, fostered by her political freedom, and animated by her vivacity and enterprise, it quickly attained the sublimest heights, and invested the human character with a dignity before unknown.

“ Ancient Rome, the victorious rival of Greece, in arms, caught from her captives the inspiration of genius ; but she never reached a similar degree of sublimity ; she imitated, but never equalled the poets, the orators, the historians, and the artists of Greece.

“ Such a nation could never have fallen under the yoke of a Turkish conqueror, had she not been prepared for that disgrace by a long period of debasement and superstition. When this last and most terrible catastrophe arrived, she saw her cities and palaces laid in ashes, and the magnificent monuments of her ancient glory levelled with the dust, by the rude strokes of those ferocious barbarians, she saw her sons, a race who had graced and dignified society, slaughtered without distinction and without mercy, or subjected to a captivity still worse than slaughter ; but yet her weeping

genius seemed to linger among the melancholy ruins, and reluctant to leave them, to carry with her the infant remnants of learning and taste into more fortunate regions, where she sowed the seeds of that civilization and science, which at the present day so eminently flourish in Europe.

“Conquered Greece polished Rome, but the conquerors were Romans. Conquered Greece did not polish Turkey, for the conquerors were Turks. The insensibility of these barbarians is astonishing; living amid the effulgence of genius, they have not caught one spark; they gaze with unfeeling stupidity on the wonder and boast of art, on their glorious monuments, on their temples, and conclude they were built by genii, and then destroy them, to burn the marble for lime, to make stucco for their own tasteless houses; whence the fine arts are banished; where ignorance, tyranny, superstition, and gross sensuality do dwell, in sad and stupid, solemn pomp, or issuing out with savage fury, lay waste the country round, and imbrue their hands in the blood of the helpless, murdering those they have conquered without remorse. Thus the finest countries in the world have become deserts; part inhabited by savage beasts, and part by more savage men; the poor aborigines skulking in hiding places like the timid hare, (which epithet the Turks give them in derision,) while those beasts of prey roam abroad.

“Every object, moral and physical, the fair face of nature, and the intellectual energies of the inhabitants, have alike been blasted and defiled by the harpy-touch of Turkish tyranny. As an instance of those changes which the country has undergone, we need only consider the island of Cyprus, now an almost uninhabited desert, which was, not only in ancient times, but when it was taken by the Venetians, populous and exceedingly rich. The gentry lived like princes, in splendour, and even the peasants had each of them at least a silver cup, a spear, knife, and fork. The number and excellency of its productions were wonderful. At present, only a little cotton, some silk and wine, and a few drugs, are its produce.

“Of the defects of Grecian character, some are doubtless owing to their ancient corruptions, but most of them take their rise in the humiliating state of depression in which they are held by the Turks. This degradation and servility of their situation has operated for centuries, and has consequently produced an accumulated effect on the mind; but were this weight taken off, the elasticity and vigour of the

soul would have wide room for expansion, and though it cannot be expected that they would at once rise to the proud distinction of their former heroes, they would doubtless display energies of mind, which the iron hand of despotism has long kept dormant and inert. It is rather astonishing that they have retained so much energy of character, and are not more debased; for like noble coursers, they champ the bit and spurn indignantly the yoke; when once freed from this, they will enter the course of glory. The truth of these observations will appear, whether we consider the Greeks in their common character as one people, or whether we consider them according to their local and peculiar distinctions.

"When we view the Greeks in their more comprehensive character as a nation, their superiority over the Turks in knowledge is surprisingly great; they possess a great degree of genius and invention, and are of so lively an imagination, that they cannot tell the same story twice without varying the embellishments of circumstance and diction; added to this, both men and women speak much, and with wonderful volubility and boldness, and no people are such natural orators; numbers of them speak Italian, but all have an activity and sprightliness which strongly contrasts with the stupid and pompous gravity of the Turks. An European feels himself as it were at home with them, and amongst creatures of his own species; but with Mussulmen there is a distance, a non-assimilation, a total difference of ideas, and the more he knows their language, the more he perceives it. On the contrary, the more intimately he knows the Greeks, the more similar does he find them in habits and manners to other Europeans.

"They bear the Turkish yoke with greater impatience than other Christians, (who have long ceased to struggle against it,) and possess a spirit of enterprise, which, however ridiculed by some authors, often prompts them to noble achievements. Their ancient empire is fresh in their memory; it is the subject of their popular songs, and they speak of it in common conversation as a recent event.

"That they possess a firm and manly courage, notwithstanding the insinuations of their calumniators, has been too often testified to be in the least doubtful; the instances which they have displayed in the Russian service has been truly striking. They are passionate, and sometimes given to assassination; but except in Zante and Cephalonia, the stiletto is not so frequent with them as with the Italians, whom

they in general resemble; the best of them, if we add more energy, being very similar in character to the Venetians, and the worst, to the Genoese."

"The most observable difference in the Grecian character, is between those of Constantinople and their countrymen of the islands. The merchants and lower orders of those at Constantinople, have indeed no very marked character; they are much the same as the trading Christians in all parts of the Empire, that is to say, as crafty and fraudulent as the Jews, but less so than the Armenians, who are the most subtle of all usurers."

"But there is in the suburb, called the Fenar, a race of Greeks, who call themselves nobles, and affect to despise those of the islands. They are certain opulent families, from which are generally appointed the dragomans of the Porte, and the waywodes of Wallachia and Moldavia. They have kept these places among them, as they are mostly allied to each other, and keep up a constant connexion with the officers of the Porte. They are continually intriguing to get those in office removed, and obtain their places; even children cabal against their fathers, and brothers against brothers. They are all people of good education, and are polite, but haughty, vain, and ambitious, to the most ridiculous degree, considering the contempt they are treated with by the 'Turks.'"

"Strange as is the infatuation which induces these Greeks to aim at the post of waywodes, it is perhaps not more astonishing than many examples which daily occur, in other nations, of the power of ambition.* Though styling themselves noble, and affecting a superiority over the other Greeks, they only have relinquished the ancient Grecian spirit: they seem not anxious, as the islanders are, for liberty, but delight in their false magnificence, and in the petty intrigues of the Seraglio; and their pride is to appear in their dress like the Turks; and yet the situation which they are thus eager to obtain, is beset with perils, and scarcely one who holds it escapes deposition and punishment."

* We see nothing strange or singular in this propensity to obtain places of office and emolument. A Greek, when once in office, exercises all the authority and tyranny which is so much complained of among the Turks. Mr. Eton describes on the same page, indeed, the very reason why this place is worthy of ambition. The waywode moves in state, and is enabled to give sinecures to his relations and friends. Such infatuation is the common lot of man.

“No sooner is the waywode appointed, than he sets out in great state for his government, attended by a crowd of his relatives and dependants, for all of whom, as well as for his own splendour, he must provide, by oppressing the unhappy subjects of his tyranny. Meanwhile, his countrymen at Constantinople are engaged in continual plots for his removal, and it becomes necessary for him to accumulate a large sum, to bribe the ministers and others on his return, and to avert the persecution which continues for years afterwards to hang over him.

“The Greeks of Macedonia are robust, courageous, and somewhat ferocious; those of Athens and Attica are still remarkably witty and sharp; all the islanders are lively and gay, fond of singing and dancing to an excess, affable, hospitable, and good natured; in short, they are the best. Those of the Morea are much given to piracy; but it is not to be wondered at, considering the cruel treatment they have met with, and the struggles they are continually making against the Turks. Those of Albania and Epirus, and in general the mountaineers, are a very warlike, brave people; but they are very savage, and make little scruple of killing and robbing travellers. A Turk cannot venture in their country alone, for there is no one in it, but would make a merit of shooting him, so deeply rooted is their hatred to their oppressors.

“It is scarcely possible,” continues Mr. Eton, “for any person not to be mistaken in judging of the conduct of the Porte towards its provinces, by any analogy from the political operations of other nations. Amongst us, the unsuccessful revolt of a whole province would indeed give birth to some additional rigour, and to some striking example of punishment; but the ferocious Turk proposes nothing short of extermination, in order to free himself from the fear of future defection. It was thus, that when the inhabitants of the Morea, who, instigated by the desire of liberty, had taken up arms in favour of Russia, returned to their yoke, a deliberate proposal was made in Divan, to slaughter them all in cold blood, innocent and guilty, of whatever age or sex. Nor was this the first time that the massacre of the whole Greek nation had been seriously debated. It was, however, in the present instance, successfully opposed by Gazi-Hassan, both on motives of humanity and policy. The chief argument which he used, and which alone carried conviction to his hearers, was: “*if we kill all the Greeks, we*

shall lose all the capitation they pay." Even without such a provocation, Sultan Mustapha, on his accession to the throne, proposed to cut off *all the Christians in the Empire*, and was with difficulty dissuaded from it.*

In respect to the right of possession, which the Turks ought to have over their conquered provinces, Mr. Eton says, "The Greeks were conquered by the Turks, but they were (like all other nations they conquered) attacked by them without provocation. It was not a war for injury, or insult received, for jealousy of power, or for the support of an ally, contests which ought to end, when satisfaction or submission is obtained : it was a war, having for its aim conquest, and for its principle, right to the dominion of the whole earth ; a war which asserted that all other sovereigns were usurpers, and that the deposing and putting them to death was a sacred duty. Do the laws of nations establish, that such a conquest gives right of possession ? They, on the contrary, declare such conquests, usurpation."

The conquered were never admitted by the Turks to the right of citizens, or fellow subjects, unless they abjured their religion, and their country ; they became slaves, and as, according to their law, the Turks have a right at all times to put to death their prisoners, the conquered and their posterity are forever obliged annually *to redeem their heads*, by paying the price set on them. They are excluded from all the offices of state ; it is death for a conquered Greek to marry a Turkish woman ; they are in every respect still treated as enemies ; the testimony of a Greek is not valid in a court of judicature, when contrasted with that of a Turk ; even their houses are painted of a different colour ; in fine, they are as totally distinct a nation as they were on the day they were conquered, and therefore, have the same right now as they had then, to free themselves from the barbarous usurpers of their country.

At the close of the war between the Russians and Turks in 1774, it was stipulated by treaty between the two nations, that Russia should restore to the Sublime Porte all the

* These propositions will not appear extraordinary, when it is considered that the law of Mahomet makes the destruction of infidels a source of merit. Nor does it seem cruel in the eye of a Turk to kill his natural enemy, when it is well known that on the accession of a Sultan to the throne, the custom has been, for him to order all his brothers to be strangled in his presence. This, with an exception or two, has always been the first business of the new Sultan.

islands of the Archipelago, which were under its dependence and it was *solemnly and sacredly* stipulated by the Sublime Porte, that the inhabitants of the realm, so restored, should enjoy a general amnesty, and that all crimes whatever, committed against the Porte, should be forgiven ; that neither the Christian religion, nor its character, should suffer the smallest oppression ; and that families which wished to leave the country should freely depart, &c.

Notwithstanding these sacred engagements, almost as soon as the Russians had left the country, already exhausted by war, the Turks fell upon the defenceless and unsuspecting inhabitants, and massacred great numbers, particularly in the Morea. Whole districts were left without an inhabitant, and that fine country was reduced to a desert.*

This terrible punishment was inflicted on the inhabitants for having joined the Russians in the war. The Russians, however, as well as the miserable inhabitants, depended on the treaty to save them from the common lot of all who fall into Turkish power. But the mufti, or priests of Mahomet, do not hesitate to teach that *no faith is to be kept with Christians* ; nor do the Turks hesitate to put this precept in practice whenever it is found to be for their interest, or whenever they can do it with impunity, and at the same time dip their swords into the blood of Christians.

In the account of their innumerable battles and sieges, it is as difficult to find an instance where the terms of capitulation have been strictly kept with Christians, as it is, in reading their history, to find a Sultan who did not strangle his brothers on the first day of his coronation. After swearing by the head of Mahomet, the strongest and most sacred oath a Turk can take, to spare life, limb, and property, these faithless wretches make it a point of religion, to murder, maim, and destroy, the moment they possess the power. The history of their wars present numerous instances where cities and communities have fallen into their hands on the strength of such oaths, and have been utterly destroyed : women and children massacred without mercy, and cities sacked and burned without remorse.

The sufferings of the Greeks, and the inevitable consequences which they know must follow the failure of any enterprise against the Turks, did not deter them from again joining the Russians in a subsequent war against the Porte.

* Eton's Survey of the Turkish Empire.

1787. In the year 1787, a war broke out between the Ottomans and the allied powers of Russia and Austria, and again the Empress Catharine sent manifestoes to all parts of Greece, inviting the inhabitants to take up arms and co-operate with her in expelling the enemies of Christianity from the countries they had usurped, and in regaining their ancient liberty and national independence.*

The invitation of the Empress was not suffered to pass unheeded. A man by the name of Sottiri was sent to Epirus and Albania, to distribute Catharine's manifestoes, and to consult with the chiefs on the best mode of raising and organizing a revolt. A plan was soon concerted, an army raised, the head quarters of which were established at Sulli. The Pacha of Ioannina was next attacked by the insurgents, his army defeated, and his son killed in the battle.†

Meanwhile, the Empress sent Captain Psaro to Sicily, to establish a magazine for her fleet, which was expected to arrive under the command of the English Admiral Greig, whom she had taken into her service. She also sent several other persons to furnish the Greeks with money, and to remove the difficulties which the Venetians, still unwilling to offend the Porte, had opposed to the progress of the insurrection.

Captain Psaro, however, seems to have deceived the Empress and her ministers in respect to his character. He received money, as the agent of his mistress, for the use of the suffering Greeks, but retained it in his own hands, never paying a single rouble for the purpose intended. Whereupon a commission was selected to represent to her Majesty the defection and deceit of her servant, to pray for the continuance of her protection and favour, and finally to beg that she would give them her grandson, Constantine, for their sovereign.

The memorial was presented by three deputies, who at the same time laid at the feet of her Majesty the rich armour of the Pacha's son, whom they had slain in battle. Eton, who seems to attach great importance to this memorial, has inserted it in Greek, French, and English.‡

* Eton's Survey.

† Eton, p. 343.

‡ As this memorial laid the foundation of several important operations, we have given the English translation:

Madam—

It was not until we had long solicited in vain your Imperial Majesty's ministers for an answer to the memorial, which we had the

The Empress received the deputies most graciously, and promised them the assistance they asked. They were then

honour of presenting to them ; it was not until driven to the utmost despair, by the reflection of the dreadful evils which this delay might produce to our countrymen, who (invited by the manifestoes of your Imperial Majesty,) have taken arms against the enemy of the Christian name, and deputed us to lay the offer of their lives and fortunes at the foot of your Imperial throne ; it was not until we had lost all hopes of otherwise obtaining a speedy answer, to stop those streams of the blood of our brethren, which doubtless flow already through this delay, that we have at length dared to prostrate ourselves at *your* feet, and to present our humble memorial to your Imperial Majesty in person.

Another duty equally sacred, and which was a principal object of our mission, induced us to take this daring step : it was to undeceive your Imperial Majesty, whom (as well as your ministers,) there have been people audacious enough to mislead. We have learned with indignation, that the chevalier Psaro now erects himself into a chief, and conductor of our people ; a man abhorred by our nation, out of the dregs of which he rose, and where he would have remained, if he had not, with an unheard of audaciousness, deceived your Imperial Majesty's ministers, and assumed a reputation by attributing to himself exploits he never performed. If no ill consequences would ensue, but to himself, we should patiently await his appearance in our country, a boast, however, which he never will perform, but in his writings. How he has acted towards us, your Imperial Majesty will see in our memorial. We hear that he has received immense sums, which he pretends to have expended for us. We assure your Imperial Majesty that neither he, nor any of your officers sent to us, ever paid us a single rouble. The flotilla, and the other armament of Lambro, were equipped at our own expense. One of us, (deputies,) abandoning his peaceful home, fitted out two vessels at his own expense, and expended in armaments 12,000 zechins, whilst the Turks massacred his mother and his brother, levelled with the ground his possessions, and desolated his lands. We never asked for your treasures, we do not ask for them now ; we only ask for powder and balls, (which we cannot purchase,) and to be led to battle. We are come to *offer* our lives and fortunes, not to *ask* for your treasures.

Deign, O great Empress ! Glory of the Greek faith ! deign to read our memorial. Heaven has reserved our deliverance for the glorious reign of your Imperial Majesty. It is under your auspices that we hope to deliver from the hands of barbarous Mahometans our empire, which they have usurped, and our patriarch, and our holy religion, which they have insulted ; to free the descendants of Athens and Lacedemon from the tyrannic yoke of ignorant savages, under which groans a nation, whose genius is not extinguished ; a nation which glows with the love of liberty ; which the iron yoke of barbarism has not vilified ; which has constantly before its eyes the images of its ancient heroes, and whose example animates its warriors even to this day.

Our superb ruins speak to our eyes, and tell us of our ancient grandeur, our innumerable ports, our beautiful country, the heavens which smile on us all the year, the ardour of our youth, and even our

conducted to the apartments of her grandsons, and offering to kiss the hand of the eldest, the grand-duke Alexander, he pointed to his brother Constantine, telling them, that it was to him they were to address themselves. To Constantine, therefore, they represented in Greek the object of their mission, and concluded by doing homage to him as their Emperor. He answered them in the same language, *Go, and let every thing be done according to your wishes.**

With their memorial, the deputies presented to the Empress a plan of operations, by which they proposed, that she should furnish them with cannon, and send them engineers to conduct sieges,—that the army should assemble at the head-quarters, Sulli, where the congress was held, and from thence proceed to Livadia, and Athens. At appointed places they were to be joined by troops from the Morea, from Negropont, and from other sections of the country. From thence the army, thus increased, was to proceed to Thessaly, where large reinforcements were expected to join it, from Macedonia. From this point, the whole army, now amounting, as these patriots calculated, to three hundred thousand men, was to march to the plains of Adrianople to meet the Russians, and then proceed to Constantinople, where they hoped to find the Russian fleet. If the fleet had not arrived, it was calculated that their force would be sufficient to take that city, and to drive the Turks out of Europe and the islands.†

The Empress dismissed the deputies, with a present of a thousand ducats, and sent them to Prince Potemkin, who,

decrepid elders, tell us that nature is not less propitious to us than it was to our forefathers. Give us for a sovereign your grandson Constantine: it is the wish of our nation, (the family of our Emperors is extinct,) and we shall become what our ancestors were.

We are not persons who have dared to impose on the *most magnanimous of Sovereigns*; we are the deputies of the people of Greece, furnished with full powers, and other documents; and as such, prostrated before the throne of her, whom, next to God, we look on as our saviour; we declare we shall be, till our latest breath,

Madam, your Imperial Majesty's

Most faithful and most devoted servants,

PANO KIRI,

CHRISTO LAZZOTTI,

NICCOLO PANGOLO.

St. Petersburg, April, 1790.

* Eton, p. 355.

† Eton, p. 356.

with the Russian army, lay in Moldavia. In the autumn of the same year they arrived in Greece, by the way of Vienna, with major-general Tamara, who had been commissioned to command the whole expedition, by the Russian government. The Greeks were assured that they should have all the succour this great expedition required. They were enjoined to prepare every thing, but to undertake nothing until further notice from Petersburg. In this state affairs remained until a peace was concluded between Russia and the Porte, and thus all the hopes of the Greeks for emancipation, were blasted, and all the preparations for this great expedition lost.

The fate of Lambro Canziani, a brave and patriotic Greek, deserves to be mentioned on this occasion. He had fitted out a small fleet by private subscription, which he commanded. In an engagement with the Turks, in numbers greatly his superior, he lost his whole fleet, himself, and a few of his men, saving themselves in boats. His resources now only enabled him to procure a single vessel; the news of peace arrived; but boiling with indignation at the treatment he had received from the Russian agents, and thirsting for revenge on the Turks, he sailed, notwithstanding, and destroyed several of their vessels. He was now declared a pirate by the Empress; but continued his work of destruction, until again overpowered, his vessel sunk under him, and he again saved himself in a boat, and fled to the mountains of Albania. He was afterwards imprisoned for debts contracted in fitting out his vessels, and only released by the contributions of his countrymen.

Whether Catharine really intended to deliver Greece from Turkish barbarity, and to attempt the great enterprise of placing her grandson on the throne of Constantinople, is perhaps doubtful. In 1790, the King of Prussia posted an army of 150,000 men on the frontiers of Bohemia, 1791. and in the spring of 1791, an armament was prepared in England, to sail for the Baltic. Eton, who was probably well acquainted with all the circumstances, supposes that these preparations were made to intimidate Catharine, and to deter her, if possible, from the prosecution of such a mighty project as settling her dynasty on the throne of Turkey.

“Thus,” says he, “ended a war, which, had it not been for the interference of Great Britain and Prussia, would have

placed the Empress' grandson on the throne of Constantinople ; and had not circumstances prescribed to them the part they acted, we should have had, in Russia and Greece, allies which would long ago have enabled his Majesty,* and the Emperor,† in all human probability, to have humbled a foe, which now threatens all Europe with total subversion.

That the nations of Europe should dread any accession to the power of Russia, or any extension of her vast territories, even so long ago as 1790, is neither extraordinary nor unknown. England, in particular, always guided by a wily policy, had every reason to believe, whatever the condition of Greece might be, it would be safer for her, that Turkey should remain in the hands of infidels, than that it should go to increase the already mighty power of Russia. Prussia, also, might perhaps with equal justice, fear the further extension and power of Russia. Actuated by such considerations, these two nations had at least an excuse, notwithstanding the situation of Greece, for compelling Catharine to conclude a peace with the Turks.

On the contrary, as stated by Mr. Eton, while it was still undetermined by the Empress, whether she would brave England and Prussia, and proceed with the plans she had laid down, a British ambassador arrived at Petersburg; instead of the English fleet. On the arrival of another ambassador, the Empress ascertained that she had but a little to fear from the British armament, and consequently as little from the Prussian army. Still she concluded a peace with the Turks, and left the Greeks, now in a state of revolt by her instigation, to protect themselves in the best way they could against the accumulated fury of their barbarian masters.

The Empress Catharine died in 1796, and with her expired, for the time, the hopes of those who looked to see another Constantine on the throne of Constantinople. In the mean time, another personage had arisen in commanding influence and importance in the mountains of Epirus, who at one period bid much fairer to become the king of Greece, than any one who had appeared on the theatre of Europe since the extinction of the Eastern Empire.‡ This was no other than the celebrated Tepeleni, or Tepelene, Pacha of Ioannina, an account of whose birth, progress in power, and exploits, will be the subject of another chapter.

* The king of England.

† Constantine of Constantinople.

‡ Modern Traveller.

CHAPTER IX.

Tyrant of Ioannina.—Mountains of Epirus never subdued.—Predatory warfare of the Albanians.—Klephts or robbers.—Instances of hardihood and valour.—Manners of the Albanians.—Their Morality.—Their mode of attack.—Paramathians.—Their lawless depredations and cruelty.—Character of Ali Bey, Pacha of Ioannina.—His exploits while a youth.—His misfortunes.—Finds a treasure which enables him to prosecute his wars.—His credit at Constantinople.—Is appointed Pacha of Ioannina.—His attempts to reduce the Suliots.—His letter to the Suliot Captains.—The reply.—Mosco.—Her prowess.—The Pacha's elevation and power.

THE history of the tyrant of Ioannina, is closely connected with that of the Greeks, on whose political changes he exerted great influence, though his conquered dominions extended no further south than Epirus. His capital Ioannina, or as others call it, Yanina, was situated in Lower Albania, the ancient Epirus. The condition of this country, and that surrounding it, first claims our attention, otherwise the reader will be unable to understand what is to follow.

“*The mountains of Greece have never been completely subdued by the Ottomans. While the Christian inhabitants of the plains either retired before the conquerors, or became their vassals, the hardy peasantry of the mountains retained possession of their native soil, where they were joined by many of the Lowlanders, fleeing from Turkish tyranny. From thence they waged a predatory warfare, which was not confined to their oppressors. The depopulation arising from these circumstances, together with frequent visitations of the plague, had produced, in many of the most fertile parts of Greece, desolation and consequent insalubrity. And the effects would have been still more extensive, had not the vacancy been in part supplied by successive migrations from Albania and of the Black Sea. The extension of education in Bulgaria, where local wars, Mussulmen persecution, or redundant numbers on a very poor soil, had occasionally caused even greater distress than had driven the

* Modern Traveller, part I.

Greeks from their native lands. About two centuries ago, a large colony of Christian Albanians settled in Bœotia, Attica, and Argolis, and a small tribe passed over into the barren island of Hydra, where they founded the community which has since been so conspicuous for its commercial enterprize and opulence.

“The greater part of the peasantry in the plains of northern Greece, and in the neighbourhood of the great Turkish towns, were unarmed; but in the more mountainous parts, and generally throughout the Morea, there were but few who did not possess a weapon of some kind. In case of any alarm of war with a Christian power, the Porte never failed to issue its decree for disarming all the rayahs; but the Turks, not being very fond of venturing in the mountainous districts, were always willing to accept a small pecuniary compromise; and the Sultan’s commands, like many other of his decrees relating to his Christian subjects, ended in a contribution to the provincial governments. In some of the more mountainous parts, villages and even whole districts were left to the management of the primates, (*proesti* or native magistrates,) who were responsible for the payment of the ordinary contributions, and who generally farmed the taxes for the Turkish government. In some parts, not even the *kharadja*, or mountain tax, was paid. These village oligarchs are represented to have been, in many cases, as oppressive towards the peasantry as they were contentious and jealous of each other: and the more powerful chieftains would often league with the Pacha, and plunder their fellow Christians. “These persons,” says Mr. Leake, “being interested in the continuance of ignorance and Turkish tyranny, were, together with some of the higher clergy, the greatest obstacles to national improvement; for the latter class, having generally procured their ecclesiastical dignities at a considerable expense, were, (except in the greater permanence of their offices) placed in a situation very similar to that of the Turkish governors of provinces and districts, whose object it necessarily was, to exact from the governed as much as they possibly could during their transitory authority.

“The *armatoli* were originally a species of militia, an establishment of the Byzantine Empire, whose most important office was to keep the roads clear of robbers, and to guard the mountain passes. The Ottomans found it necessary to maintain the same kind of police; and all Greece, from the

river *Axius* to the *Isthmus*, was gradually divided into seventeen *armatoliks*. Of these, ten were in *Thessaly* and *Livadia*, four in *Etolia*, *Acarmania*, and *Epirus*, and three in *Southern Macedonia*. The *Morea* never contained any. The rank of a captain of *armatoli* was hereditary. The members of each band were called *palikars* (bravos or heroes,) and the *protopalikar* acted as lieutenant and secretary to the *capitanos*. In addition to the bodies of *armatoli* acknowledged by the *Porte*, all the mountain communities maintained a small body of *palikars*, professedly for the protection of the district; but more frequently they were employed against a neighbouring rival, or to withstand either Turkish or Albanian encroachments.

“The *klephtai*, or robbers, (and they gloried in the name) differed chiefly from the *armatoli* in preferring open rebellion and the adventurous life of marauders, to any compromise with their Turkish masters. In fact, the only distinction vanished, when, as often happened, the discontented or oppressed *armatoli* became a *klepht*, or when it suited the Turkish *Pachas* to include them under one common title. Owing to this the terms came to be often used indiscriminately; and in *Thessaly*, the word *klepht* designated either, or both. Their general character and habits are thus portrayed by an enthusiast in the cause of Greece, to whose hereditary talent we are indebted for a translation of some of the more popular ballads still current in the highlands,—the minstrelsy of the Grecian border.*

“The *klephts* were hardy to a degree scarcely credible. They had no fixed encampment; wandering in summer among the higher, in winter over the lower mountainous regions. But they had always a spot for rendezvous and occasional sojourn, called *limeri*, situated near the *armatolik*, from which they have been driven. When not engaged in an expedition, their chief resource for amusement was found in martial games, and particularly in firing at a mark. Constant practice in this led to a surprising degree of skill. By day-light, they could strike an egg, or even send a ball

* Sheridan's “*Songs of Greece*.” London, 1825. One highly characteristic mark, Mr. Sheridan says, distinguished the *klepht* from a regular *armatole*: this was a worsted rope coiled round his waist for the purpose of binding the Turks whom he might capture who were generally kept for the sake of ransom; “though, on occasions when it was impossible to make prisoners, they were killed like wolves, without hesitation.”

through a ring of nearly the same diameter, at the distance of 200 paces; and in the most pitchy darkness they could hit an enemy, directed only by the flash of his musket. The activity of their limbs equalled the correctness of their eye. Niko Tzaras could jump over seven horses standing abreast, and others could clear, at one leap, three wagons filled with thorns to the height of eight feet. Their powers of abstinence were not less surprising. A band of klephts have been known to combat during three days and nights, without either eating, drinking, or sleeping.* Pain found their courage as untameable as thirst and hunger, although every klepht taken alive was inevitably subjected, before death came to his relief, to the most dreadful and protracted tortures. The klephts combined to a degree very rare among a rude tribe, an enthusiastic piety, with a distrust of the clergy, and of that union of church and state, the efficacy of which for the support of despotism and the rivetting of mental chains, was no where better understood than in Turkey, where the Sultan was in fact the real head of the Christian, as well as of the Mahomedan hierarchy. Yet, in their wildest solitudes, in their most pressing dangers, they performed the ceremonies of their religion; and the captain who plundered a chapel or a votive offering, was as unrelentingly put to death as if he had insulted a female captive. Blachavas, with his protopalikar, left his beloved mountains, at

* "The instance referred to, in substantiation of this statement, is that of the famous Thessalian klepht, Niko Tzaras, who, on his road to join Prince Ipsilanti in Wallachia, at the head of 300 klephts, was stopped at the bridge of Pravi, on the banks of the Karasau, by 3,000 Turks; he 'broke through them, crossed the bridge, and entered Pravi, where his gallant band refreshed themselves, after a fast of four, and a fight of three days.' This was in 1804 or 1805: he perished about two years after in an affray, by the hand of an assassin, who had been one of his own palikers."—*Sheridan's Songs of Greece*, p. 63. "Another remarkable story is that of Spiros Skylloemos, of an ancient armatoli family in Acarnania. In 1806 he fell into the hands of Ali Pacha, who threw him into a deep dungeon, where he lay for many months, chained and immersed in mud and water. By means of a long sash and a file, he one night escaped from prison, but the gates of the citadel were closed. As his sole chance of escape, he buried himself to the throat in the forest of reeds which fringes the lake of Ioannina, enduring in this situation, during three days and nights, the extremes of cold and hunger; then, seizing a boat, crossed the lake, and escaped by mountain paths into Acarnania. He was subsequently pardoned by Ali, and became protopalikar to Odyseus, when appointed by that Pacha commander in Livadia."—*Ibid.* p. 52.

the age of seventy-six, to visit the holy city on foot, and actually died at Jerusalem. Frequent as apostacy was for ages among the harassed inhabitants of the plains, never did a klepht hesitate to prefer captivity, death, and even tortures, to the denial of his Redeemer. Yet, they had the sagacity to perceive, that the clergy, who looked to the Turks for promotion, and whose corporate property the infidels always respected, must be suspicious friends, and often dangerous enemies to the revolted Greeks. The clergy of Greece have been her curse, alike under the Byzantine and under the Tartar systems of tyranny, and would equally continue to be so if the Scythians seized the country. Contemporaneous documents exist to show, that the Russian cabinet fully expects to receive their assistance from the hierarchy of Greece. Next to their touching piety, the most striking qualities among the klephts, were generosity to their poorer and more timid countrymen, and especially to the herdmen who shared the mountains with them; devoted love to their country in general, and of their own rugged parts in particular; and tenderness in those domestic affections which formed a beautiful relief to the stern and rugged parts of their character.”*

“There is nothing,” says Mr. Hobhouse,† “more sanguinary in the character of the Albanians, than there is in that of the other inhabitants of the Levant; though, as they live under no laws, and each individual is the redresser of his own wrongs, bloodshed cannot but frequently occur. A blow is revenged by the meanest among them by the instant death of the offender; their military discipline admits of no other punishment, and their soldiers are hanged or beheaded, but never beaten. The custom of wearing arms openly, which have been considered as one of the certain signs of barbarity, instead of increasing, diminishes the instances of murders, for it is not probable that a man will often hazard an offence, for which he may instantly lose his head. They are not of a malignant disposition; and when cruel, with the exception of some tribes, it is more from sudden passion than from a principle of revenge. Treachery is a vice hardly to be found among them; such as have experienced your favours, or, as their saying is, have eaten your bread, and even those who are hired into your service, are entirely to be

* Sheridan's Songs of Greece; see Modern Traveller.

† See Hobhouse's Journey through Albania, 1809 and 1810.

depended upon ; and are capable often of the most devoted attachment."

" I feel no great inclination," continues Mr. Hobhouse, " to speak of the morals of the Albanians. Their women, who are almost all of them without education, and speak no other than their native tongue, are considered as their cattle, and are used as such, being, except the very superior sort, obliged to labour, and are often punished with blows. They have in truth rather a contempt, and even an aversion for their females ; and there is nothing in any of their occasional inclinations, which may be said to partake of what we call the tender passion. Yet all of them get married who can, as it is a sign of wealth, and as they wish to have a domestic slave."*

In respect to the religion of this people, it is said that the Christians, who can be fairly called Albanians, are scarcely, if at all, to be distinguished from Mahometans. They carry arms, and are many of them enrolled in the service of the Turkish Pacha, and differ in no respect from his other soldiers. There is a spirit of independence, and a love of their country, in the whole people, that, in a great measure, does away the vast distinctions observable in other parts of Turkey between the two religions. For when the natives of other provinces, upon being asked who they are, will say, ' we are Turks,' or ' we are Christians,' a man of this country answers, ' I am an Albanian.'†

All these men are warriors, and equally capable of using the sword and the long gun ; the latter weapon, when slung across their right shoulders, they carry without any apparent effort, running up their hills with great ease and agility. Nor are their arms for show only, for until very lately, and in some places even now, every district was either upon the defensive against the band of robbers, or in alliance with them, and in rebellion against the Pachas of the Porte.

In their mode of attack, these warriors are extremely cautious. They lie patiently, and in dead silence, perhaps for hours, covered with leaves, behind stones, in the water-courses, or in thickets on each side of the road. They suffer their prey to get into the midst of them, when, if the party be numerous, they fire upon them suddenly without rising, and continue to do so, unless beaten, until they have made

* Hobhouse's Albania, vol. 1. p. 129.

† Hobhouse's Albania, vol. 1.

their adversaries throw down their arms, and ask for quarter. In that case the prisoners are then gagged, bound, and plundered; and if there be a man among them of consequence, the robbers make him write to his friends for a ransom of so many thousand piastres, and if the money arrives they release him; if it does not, they cut off his head, or keep him amongst them until they disperse.*

The life they lead in the course of their profession as plunderers, enables them to support every hardship, and to take the field, when in regular service, without baggage or tents of any kind. If badly wounded, they leave their corps and retire to their homes, until they are cured, when they return again to the field. Indeed their love of arms is so ardent, that those who may fear too long an interval of peace in their own country, enter into the service of the Pachas in every part of the Turkish empire. The guard of the sacred banner from Mecca to Constantinople, used to be entrusted to one hundred and fifty of them, armed and dressed in their own fashion.†

Mr. Eton, who published his account some fifteen years before the travels of Mr. Hobhouse, gives a still more revolting picture of a particular tribe of these barbarians.

“I will speak a little,”‡ says he, “on the subject of these Paramathian Albanese. Their towns are situated twelve leagues distant from Yanina; (Ioannina;) they possess a territory of twelve leagues in circumference, and can bring into the field 20,000 men. Their country is so mountainous and inaccessible, that they have never been conquered by the Turks. How they became Mahometans they do not know themselves exactly; some of them say, that when the Turks first invaded these countries, they made peace on condition of becoming Mahometans, and preserving their independence. They speak Greek, and know no other language; they look on the Turks and other Albanians as effeminate, and hold them in the utmost contempt. They have no regular government; each family or relationship (clan,) administers justice among themselves. The largest clans have the most influence in the country, in all public or general matters. They are careful not to kill a person of another kindred, as the relations revenge his death, and when once bloodshed is begun, it goes on until one of the clans is ex-

* Hobhouse's Albania, vol. 1.

† Hobhouse's Albania.

‡ Eton's Survey, p. 368.

ting. They always carry their guns with them whenever they go out of their houses, and never quit them; even at home they do not go without pistols in their girdles; at night they put them under their pillows, and lay their gun by their side. The same precautions are taken in all those parts, except in the town of Ioannina. There are among the Paramathians, however, a considerable number of Greek Christians, who live in the same manner. Those who are Mahometans know little of their religion, or pay little regard to it; their women are not veiled, they drink wine, and intermarry with Christians. It is true, indeed, that they will not eat pork; but if the husband and wife are of different religions, they make no scruple of boiling in the same pot a piece of pork and a piece of mutton.”*

All strangers, Turks, Europeans, Greeks, or others, who happen to pass on their territory, or are caught by them, are carried to the public market and there sold.

“Being one day at Ioannina, says he, at the Greek Archbishop’s house, I saw a Piedmontese priest, who, travelling in those parts, had been seized by the Paramathians, and sold; his story, as related to me by the prelate, is as follows: Soliman Ciapar being at his house one day on a visit, told him that he had bought a Frank for four piastres, but he was good for nothing, and though he had beat him daily, he could not make him do as much work as his bread was worth; he would therefore, he said, when he got home, kill him as a useless beast. The Archbishop offered to buy him for the four piastres he had cost, and to pay him the money immediately, if Ciapar would give him security, for here no one

* These mountain Albanians are known at Constantinople under the name of *Arnauts*. Their religion is generally determined by that of the master under whom they serve. Their business being war, they care not under whose banner they enlist, provided they are well paid; they therefore become Christians or Mahometans, as they happen to serve under the sign of the cross or crescent. According to the account of Lady Montague, they blend the two religions still more closely, and with a view to insure their future happiness, practice the rights of both.

“These people,” says she, “living between Christians and Mahometans, and not being skilled in controversy, declare that they are utterly unable to judge which religion is best, but to be certain of not entirely rejecting the truth, they very prudently follow both. They go to the mosque on Fridays, and to the church on Sundays, saying for excuse, that they are thus sure of the protection of the true Prophet, but which that is they are unable to determine in this world.”

trusts another. The bargain being settled, the Frank was sent : he proved to be a man of learning, and the Archbishop established a school at Ioannina for Greek children, under his direction." "A stranger," continues the author, "might, however, travel into these mountains and would be treated hospitably by the inhabitants, if he put himself under the protection of a Paramathian, who would give security for his being brought back safe."*

These mountain robbers or *klephts*, became so great a nuisance to the country, that the Ottoman government concluded to appoint some proper person to reduce them, and to insure the safety of travellers who had occasion to pass these mountains. This office was bestowed on Ali Bey, afterwards Pacha of Ioannina, a man who made himself as famous for his courage and talents as he was infamous for his tyranny and diabolical cruelty.

The life of Ali has been the subject of several pens. The following sketch of him, compiled with considerable labour, is extracted from a recent English periodical work.†

Ali, whose surname was Hissas, was born at Tepeleni, a small town of the Toshke clan, situated on the left bank of the Vioussa, about the year 1748.‡ His family had been established in that place for several centuries : and one of his ancestors, named Muzzo, having been very successful in the honourable profession of a *klepht*, procured to himself the lordship of Tepeleni, which he transmitted to his descendants. Ali's grand-father, Mouctar Bey, was deemed the greatest warrior of his age, and fell bravely fighting at the siege of Corfu, leaving three sons. Veli Bey, the father of Ali, was the youngest : though in early life a professed *klepht* and a fratricide, he is said to have been a man of humane disposition, and extremely well disposed to the Greeks.§

* Eton, p. 370.

† Modern Traveller, part xxvii. p. 16.

‡ M. Pouqueville, indeed, makes Ali to have been 78 years of age in 1819, which would carry back his birth to 1741 ; but he does not give his authority. Mr. Hobhouse says he was born in 1750.

§ This excellent person, as Mr. Hughes characterises him, having been expelled his parental home by his two brothers on the death of the father, followed for some years the profession of knight-errant of the mountains, till, having collected a sufficient sum to retire on, he suddenly appeared with his banditti before Tepeleni, and burned his two brothers in their own citadel. He then took quiet possession of the family title and estates, prudently renouncing his old trade forever.

He held for some time the pashalik of Delvino, but was deprived of it by the intrigues of a cabal, and retired in chagrin to his native lordship of Tepeleni, where, harassed by the neighbouring beys and agas, and unable to make head against his enemies, he is stated to have died of grief and vexation, at the age of forty-five, leaving five children.* The mother of Ali and his sister Shainitza, was a woman of uncommon talents and undaunted courage, fierce and implacable as a tigress. "I owe every thing to my mother," said Ali, alluding to the education he received from her, and the ambitious projects with which she inspired him. At the death of his father, Ali was under fourteen years of age; an obstinate, petulant, intractable child; but he was attached to his mother, and she was well able to assert her authority. So long as Veli Bey lived, Chamco had appeared only an ordinary woman; but now, with courage equal to her ambition, she renounced the spindle for the sword, the veil for the helmet, and with a handful of faithful followers, defended the remainder of her possessions against the hostile clans, and effectually checked their encroachments. At one time, she was taken prisoner, together with her daughter Shainitza, by the inhabitants of Gardiki, who are said to have treated their captives with almost incredible brutality: if authenticated, it would go far to extenuate the dreadful retribution with which, forty years after, the town was visited at the hands of Ali. After enduring this barbarous treatment for more than a month, they obtained their liberty,—it is said by ransom; at all events, Chamco was reinstated at Tepeleni, where she still continued to maintain her authority, till Ali grew old enough and powerful enough to take the burden of government off her hands.†

* M. Pouqueville says that he was carried off by a disorder, "*attribuée à des excès bachiques.*" He says nothing of his having filled the office of Pacha of Delvino, and attributes his quarrels with his neighbours to his unsubdued kleptic propensities.

† In attempting to combine the various accounts of Ali's early life in a consistent narrative, we are met at every step by irreconcilable contradictions or discrepancies. The Rev. T. S. Hughes, who appears to have taken considerable pains in collecting authentic materials, states that Veli Bey left *two* widows and *three* children, attributing to Chamco, Ali's mother, the poisoning both of her rival and of the elder son. M. Pouqueville (whom the compiler of the *Life of Ali Pacha*, 8vo. 1833, has copied) states, that Veli left *five* children, but that the mother of the elder two died before him. He imputes to Chamco the poisoning of the

1757. Ali's first exploits, undertaken, as it should seem, without the sanction of his mother, were more daring than successful. Before he had attained his sixteenth year, he had acquired as much celebrity as the fabled offspring of Jupiter and Maia, and in the same honourable calling. He plundered all his neighbours, till he found himself possessed of means sufficient to raise a small number of partisans; and now commencing operations on a bolder scale, he undertook an expedition against the town of Chormovo. He was beaten, and re-entered Tepeleni a fugitive, where he had to encounter the indignant taunts of his mother, who bade him, coward as he was, go join the women of the harem. Again, however, he took the field, and having commenced hostile

elder brother, and says, that the idiocy of a second was believed to have been caused by her hand. According to M. de Vaudoncourt, on the contrary, whose narrative bears stronger internal marks of authenticity, the brother was made away with at the time that Ali seized the reins of authority from the hands of his mother, and the suspicion of fratricide attached to Ali. "The partisans of Ali Pacha," he says, "assert that Ali's mother caused him to be poisoned, in order to secure to her own son the remains of his father's inheritance, and free him from a dangerous rival. This report is, at least, most prevalent throughout the whole of his states. His enemies, on the contrary, affirm, that it was he himself who stabbed his brother, having persuaded the multitude that he was engaged in a treacherous correspondence with their enemies. It is thus also that the story is related in the Ionian Islands." M. Pouqueville, too, kills *one* of Ali's brothers at this period. Again, with regard to the alleged treatment of Ali's mother and sister at Gardiki, Mr. Hughes tells us, that the people of that town secretly attacked Tepeleni by night, and succeeded in carrying them off; that their subsequent escape was effected through the generous aid of an individual Gardikiote, named Dosti, "whose turn it was to receive them into his dwelling;" he escorted them in safety to Tepeleni, "where they found the indignant Ali *just preparing*" (after the lapse of a month!) "to attempt their liberation with a large body of troops he had collected;" further, that on discovering the flight of their captives, the people of the town pursued them, but in vain, and on their return, set fire to Dosti's house. M. Pouqueville's version of the story is, that Ali was taken prisoner with his mother and sister; that it was by means of an ambuscade; and that their liberation was effected by a Greek merchant of Argyro Castro, who ransomed them for 22,800 piastres, (about 3,700*l.*) The atrocious treatment they are said to have met with, the most improbable as well as revolting part of the tale, is, strange to say, the only point in which the two stories agree. M. de Vaudoncourt, without adverting to the circumstance alluded to, simply says: "It was about this time that she (Ali's mother) was taken prisoner by the inhabitants of Goritza, when her ransom absorbed the greater part of the treasures she had been able to save."

operations in the *sanjiak* of Avlona, was taken prisoner. Kourd Pacha, into whose hands he had thus fallen, was an old man, of mild and humane character. Struck, it is said, with the youthful beauty, the graceful manners, and the natural eloquence of the young klepht, he satisfied himself with reprimanding him, and after a friendly detention, dismissed him with presents.*

It must have been about this period that, at the head of thirty palikers, he entered into the service of the Pacha of Egripo. From this engagement, though it could not have been of long duration, he reaped sufficient wealth to enable him on his return to his native mountains, to re-commence operations as a klepht on a grander scale. After some successes near Tepeleni, he turned his steps towards the passes of Pindus, and pillaged some hamlets of the canton of Zagora; but being overtaken and defeated by the Pacha of Ioannina, he was made prisoner a second time. And now, we are told, that the neighbouring beys, and more especially Selim, Pacha of Delvino, urged the necessity of inflicting summary justice on the incorrigible marauder. The vizier, however, had his reasons for not obliging them in this matter. He knew that he had less to dread from Ali than from the beys of Argyro-castro and Premeti, while Selim's Venetian connexions rendered him equally an object of suspicion: he therefore was not sorry to afford them fresh occupation, and he turned Ali loose again, who, it is said, gave him no further cause for inquietude during the rest of his days. Nevertheless, collecting the remains of his scattered troops, he again ventured to take the field, but he was beaten afresh near the sources of the Chelydnus; and so complete was the route, that he was obliged to seek for refuge alone on Mount Mertzika. Here he was reduced to pledge his scimitar, in order to procure barley for his horse, no longer able to carry him.

On returning again to Tepeleni, a fugitive, he was assailed by his mother with harsher reproaches than ever. When with great difficulty he appeased her, and obtained further supplies, they were accompanied with the injunction not to

* Mr. Hughes makes both the wife and the daughter of Kourd Pacha fall in love with the young hero; and adds, that in a war which broke out between the Kourd and the Pacha of Scutari, Ali so distinguished himself, and gained on the affections of the soldiery, that Kourd's *hasnadar*, (treasurer,) advised his master either to put him to death, or make him his son-in-law. Kourd preferred the *middle course* of honourably dismissing him with presents.

return again but either as a conqueror or a corpse. "With the money thus obtained, Ali immediately collected 600 men, and directed his march through the valley of the Chelydnus, towards Mertzika and Premeti. His first battle was again unsuccessful, and he was obliged to retire with loss. Having encamped the remnant of his troops in the vicinity of a deserted chapel not far from Velera, he entered into the solitary pile to repose, as well as to meditate on his bereft situation. There, he said, (for it was from himself that the narrative was obtained,) reflecting on that fortune by which he was persecuted, calculating the enterprise he was still able to attempt, and comparing the weakness of his means with the forces he had to combat, he remained a long time in a standing posture, mechanically furrowing up the ground with his stick, which the violence of his sensations caused him frequently to strike with vehemence. The resistance of a solid body, and the sound which issued from it, recalled his attention. He bent down, and examined the hole he had unconsciously made, and having dug further, had the happiness to find a casket. The gold which it contained enabled him to levy 2,000 men, and having been successful in a second battle, he returned to Tepeleni a victor. From this period fortune never abandoned him."*

* Vaudoncourt, p. 226. Mr. Hughes tells the same tale, with some slight variation. M. Pouqueville says, the whole story is a fiction, invented by a Greek named Psalida, and that Ali himself told him so. "*Cela donne une physionomie miraculeuse a ma fortune*," was his indignant remark. It may be true, nevertheless. In Mr. Hughes' narrative, however, Ali is represented as having dated the commencement of his good fortune from a still more romantic circumstance. He had, it seems, got married, and having raised fresh levies, was determined to make one last desperate effort against his ancient foes. In this expedition he was accompanied by his mother and his bride. The confederate beys of Argyro-castro, Gardiki, Kiminitza, Goritza, Chormove, &c. opposed him with an overwhelming force, and the Tepelenites were totally routed. The chiefs of Argyro-castro and Gardiki had returned home, when Ali resolved on the bold and decisive manœuvre of going alone by night to the camp of the other confederates, and placing his life and fortunes in their hands. The hazard he ran was not so great as might at first appear, since a voluntary suppliant is sure of obtaining protection from an Albanian chieftain; but Ali aimed at something more than securing his own safety. He sought to win them over to his cause, by representing that his enemies were in fact theirs; that the absent chiefs were already too formidable, and that they sought his destruction, only to be enabled the more easily to place the yoke on their necks. And so well did he succeed in rousing the jealousy of the Beys,

1760. And now it was, as it should seem, that Ali resolved to take the management of affairs into his own hands. Having gained over the principal chiefs of Tepeleni, he took possession of the fortress, and confined his mother henceforth to the harem. She died soon after. The state of his coffers being, however, unequal to his ambitious projects, he resolved to have recourse to his old profession. Having secured the whole of the defiles leading across the chain of Pindus into Thessaly and Macedonia, he pillaged and ransomed travellers and caravans, levied contributions on the villages, and sacked several defenceless places, till the ravages committed awakened the attention of the divan, and the *dervenji pacha* was ordered to march against him. The office was at this time held by no other person than Ali's old friend, Kourd Pacha, who soon found it advisable to attempt to settle matters by negotiation, as there was little prospect of accomplishing it by force of arms. He invited Ali to a conference, at which the latter displayed his usual address, and the old vizier was induced to accept of his service in the warfare he was prosecuting against the rebel Pacha of Scutari. The effective aid which Ali rendered secured the success of the expedition, and his conduct was represented in the most favourable light at Constantinople.

Supported by this powerful alliance, Ali now came to be held in high consideration, and the Pacha of Argyro-castro granted his daughter to him, by whom he had his two eldest sons, Mouctar and Veli.* His ambitious projects soon began to develop themselves. The towns of Kaminitza and Goritza first fell under his power : they were taken and pillaged. His next attempt was a daring one. The old Pacha of Argyro-castro, Ali's father-in-law, had died, and the elder son had been assassinated by his brother. Ali hastened to allay the civil war this murder had given rise to ; but the inhabitants, aware of his designs, united against him, and he

that they not only determined to spare his life, but to range themselves under his standard. Ali's mother, who, on discovering his flight, had, we are told, given way to transports of alarm or vexation, met him returning at the head of the troops who had fought against him. By the support thus obtained, he secured an honourable peace, as well as his future fortune. On reaching Tepeleni, he took possession of the place as its master.

* His marriage must have taken place long before this, if, as M. de Vaudencourt states, he was only twenty years of age when he married.

was compelled to withdraw.* About this period, he is stated to have entered into a war with the town of Liebovo, (or Libochobo,) which, after an ineffectual resistance, submitted to his arms. Lekli, Giates, and some other places, were subdued in the same manner. He now determined to attack the strong place of Chormovo, on the inhabitants of which he had vowed vengeance. Internal dissensions favoured his project. The inhabitants, alarmed at his approach, endeavoured to propitiate him by submission; but Ali, having decoyed the chief citizens to a conference, had them treacherously seized, while his troops fell upon the defenceless inhabitants, massacred a great number, and razed the town to the ground. The women and children were sold into slavery. One individual, particularly obnoxious to Ali, named Papas Oglou, or Krauz Pifti, (son of a priest,) is stated to have been impaled and roasted alive by his orders: the executioner was a black slave, his foster-brother. By this execrable act of vengeance, he spread a terror of his name throughout the neighbouring tribes.†

* M. Pouqueville gives a totally different account. In the first place, he states that Ali was about twenty-four when he married Emina, the daughter of Capelan the tiger, Pacha of Delvino, who resided at Argyro-castro; this said Capelan, urged on by his worthy son-in-law, is represented as having secretly favoured the Montenegrins, while Ali gave secret information of his disloyalty to the Porte. Capelan was consequently sent for to answer for his conduct, and his son-in-law strongly urged him to obey the summons; he lost his head of course, but the pachalik was given to Ali of Argyro-castro, and the traitor was disappointed. The insurrection of Stephano Piccolo took place in 1767: and, if this account be correct, Ali must have been born before 1747, or he could not have become Capelan's son-in-law by that time, at twenty-four years of age, and have acted subsequently the part here ascribed to him. M. Pouqueville goes on to state, that a marriage was brought about between the new Pacha of Delvino and Shainitza, Ali's sister; but the Pacha in vain endeavoured to conciliate the good will of his brother-in-law by benefits. Not having been able to persuade his sister to poison her husband, Ali found means to persuade the Pacha's brother, Soliman, to turn assassin, on condition of marrying the widow! Again, however, Ali was disappointed of obtaining the vacant pachalik, which was given to Selim Bey, whose treacherous assassination by his dear friend Ali, is not very consistently made to follow close upon the breaking out of the war in 1768. According to this statement, Ali must have got rid of three successive Pachas of Delvino in about a twelve-month!

† This act of diabolical cruelty, which reminds us of the crusaders, seems to be the best attested part of the narrative. Vassily, Mr. Hobhouse's attendant, who appears to have been a native of

1767. These expeditions had made him master of the whole valley of the Chelydnus in front of Argyrocastro, which he held under observation, while the inhabitants on their side established a sort of redoubt, and a post of 500 men on the bridge below the city. He is said to have even made attempts at this time on both Ioannina and Arta, but was repelled. Shortly after, by means of his emissaries at Constantinople, he procured a commission for attacking Selim, Pacha of Delvino, who had fallen under the displeasure of the Porte for having delivered up to the Venetians the fortress and territory of Bucintro. Resorting to his favourite measures of deceit, he appeared before Delvino with only a small band of troops, under pretence of flying from his enemies. Having gained the confidence of the unsuspecting Selim, as well as of his son Mustapha, he was enabled to surround them with his own satellites. He caused the father to be beheaded, and the son to be arrested, and succeeded in carrying off his prisoner in the precipitate retreat which he was obliged to make, in order to escape from the indignation of the inhabitants. He obtained a large sum as a ransom for his captive, but this was the only fruit of his perfidy.

In the mean time, Kourid Pacha having fallen into disgrace,* a new *dervenji pacha* had been appointed, who, either actuated by the policy of setting a thief to catch a thief, or influenced by more substantial inducements, named Ali as his lieutenant. Instead of clearing the roads of banditti, Ali commenced a trade in licences, which he sold regularly to the klephts, receiving over and above, a per centage on their booty. This traffic did not last, however, above six months, though Ali is said to have cleared 150,000 piastres by the job. The country, as the natural consequence, hav-

Chormovo, although the name of the place is not given,) told him, that he had many a time gone down with the men of the village, and broke Ali's windows with shot, when he durst not stir out of Tepeleni.—“Well,” he was asked, “and what did Ali do to the men of your village?” “*Nothing at all*; he made friends with our chief man, persuaded him to come to Tepeleni, and there roasted him on a spit; after which we submitted.”—*Hobhouse's Albania*, letter xi.

* Kourid Pacha is styled by Mr. Hughes and M. Pouqueville, vizier and Pacha of Berat. M. de Vaudoncourt says, he was vizier of Avlona; that on his disgrace, the *sanjak* of Avlona was dismembered, several districts passed under the control of the vizier of Scutari, while others were united to the *sanjak* of Elbassan, whose Pacha was created a vizier, and fixed his residence at Berat.

ing become quite impassable, the *derwenji pacha* was recalled, and paid the penalty of his head, while his crafty lieutenant bought himself off.

So high did Ali's character, however, now stand for bravery, or so well was his money laid out at Constantinople, that, on the breaking out of the war with Russia, he obtained a command, at the head of his Albanian corps, in the army of the grand vizier Jousouf. "His conduct during the war," we are told by M. de Vaudoncourt, "was brilliant: his military talents, and the valour of his soldiers, inured by twenty years of war and victory, obtained for him general esteem, and at the same time tended greatly to enrich him. But his attention was not withdrawn from his ambitious projects. Hitherto, he had no government, no title, and he wished to be a sovereign, whatever was the sacrifice. Under the pretext of obtaining the release of Mahmoud, one of his nephews, who had been taken prisoner by the Russians, he entered into correspondence with Prince Potemkin. The correspondence soon became active, and took a direction favourable to the interests of Russia, who would have been able at that time to rely on Ali Bey in case of a fresh expedition to the Mediterranean. The correspondence between Ali and the Russian government lasted till he had become master of Ioannina, as well as of nearly all Albania, and had no longer any direct interest in aiding the designs of that power."*

The war being ended, Ali had gained sufficient credit at Constantinople to have himself nominated to the government of Triccala, [Thessaly,] with the rank of a Pacha of two tails. The situation of this place was particularly adapted to his views. It commands the passage of merchandise from Ioannina to Constantinople; and whoever possesses the country has it in his power to intercept all supplies of corn from the fertile plain of Thessaly, upon which the provinces of Western Greece frequently depend for their subsistence. Here he established himself as absolute master over all

* Vaudoncourt, p. 234. The Author himself saw at Ioannina a watch set in diamonds, which Potemkin presented to Ali after the treaty of peace had been signed, "in testimony of esteem for his bravery and talents." Mr. Hughes says, that Ali had conceived strong hopes of being acknowledged sovereign of Epirus, when his friend should be seated on the throne of Constantinople; that the correspondence which Potemkin held with Ali and many other Greek and Turkish chieftains, became known to Catharine, and probably precipitated the fall of the favourite.

Thessaly, except Larissa, which is an independent jurisdiction. The people of Ioannina, particularly the Greek merchants, who feared his exactions, beheld with the more alarm their formidable neighbour, inasmuch as complete anarchy then prevailed in that city. The turbulent and powerful beys were not only in rebellion against the Pacha, but were engaged in the fiercest contests with one another, so that it was frequently unsafe for a person to stir out into the streets. The most atrocious murders were committed in open day, till the bazar became deserted. At length, the death of the Pacha afforded Ali the golden opportunity he had been watching for. We give the sequel in the words of Mr. Hughes, with whose narrative the statement of M. de Vaudoncourt substantially agrees.

“ When Ali thought affairs were ripe enough for his presence, he collected a considerable number of troops, passed the chain of Mount Pindus, and made his appearance on the plains to the north of Ioannina. The manœuvre caused great consternation in the city: the beys, in imminent danger, stifled their enmity towards each other, joined their forces together, and advanced to meet the invader. In a great battle, which was fought at the head of the lake, they were beaten and driven back into the city by Ali, who encamped before it with his victorious troops. Not being strong enough to attempt it by storm, he employed a surer method for success. He had already gained a considerable number of adherents amongst the Greeks in the city, and especially in the district of Zagori: these, by bribery and large promises, he engaged to enter into his views, and send a deputation to Constantinople, to solicit for him the pashalik. They acted as he requested; but the opposite interest proved too strong for them at the Porte, and they were made the bearers of an order to their principal to retire immediately to his own government, and disband his troops. One of the deputies, most attached to his interest, rode forward night and day, to give him early information of the failure of their mission, and on this occasion Ali executed one of those strokes of policy which has given him such advantage over the imbecility of the Ottoman Porte. After a short consultation with his friend, he dismissed him to return and meet the deputies, who waited a few days on the road, and then proceeded straight to Ioannina. The beys, to whom its contents had been already intimated, advanced as far as the suburbs to

meet the firman. It was produced, and drawn out of a crimson case; when each reverently applied it to his forehead, in token of submission to its dictates. It was then opened, and to the utter consternation of the assembly, it denounced Ali, Pacha of Ioannina, and ordered instant submission to his authority.

“The forgery was suspected by many, but some credited it; whilst others, by timely submission, sought to gain favour with the man who they foresaw would be their ruler; in short, his partizans exerted themselves on all sides, the beys were dispirited, and whilst they were irresolute and undetermined, Ali entered the city amidst the acclamations of the populace. His chief enemies, in the mean time, sought their safety by flight, passing over the lake, and taking refuge in the districts of Arta, Etolia, and Acarnania.

“Ali’s first care was to calm the fears of all ranks; to the people, he promised protection; to the beys who remained, rich offices and plunder; his friends were amply recompensed, and his enemies reconciled by his frankness and engaging affability. In the mean time, he put a strong garrison into the castron, or fortress, and thus acquired firm possession of the pashalik before the imposture of the firman was discovered. It was now too late to dispossess him of his acquisition; his adherents increased daily; a numerous and respectable deputation, led by Signore Allessio’s father, carried a petition to Constantinople, and seconding it with bribes to a large amount, ultimately prevailed in establishing his usurped dominion. Thus, according to custom, despotism succeeded to the turbulence of faction, and the people not unwillingly submitted to the change.”

1788. Soon afterwards, Ali, doubtless by the same potent agency, gold, obtained from the Porte the important office of dervenji-pacha of Rumelia: whether he had a lieutenant is not stated, but if he had, he took good care that he should not trade in licences to the klephts. This office not only augmented his revenue, but gave him an opportunity to create an influence in many provinces of the Turkish empire. His next step was to pick a quarrel with his neighbour, the Pacha of Arta, and to annex his territories, as well as the whole of Acarnania, to his own dominions. Then, in order to establish a free communication between Ioannina and his native territory, he attacked and took possession of the strong post of Kilssura, followed it up by the reduction of Premeti,

Ostanizza and Konitza, which secure the whole course of the Vioussa, from its source in Mount Pindus, to Tepeleni.*

Soon after this, Ibrahim Pacha of Berat, who had formerly rejected his alliance, gladly accepted the proposal to affiance his three daughters to the two sons and nephew of Ali, who himself espoused the rich widow of a Pacha with a considerable dowry in land.

The accession of Ali Pacha to the government of Ioannina is stated by M. Pouqueville to have taken place towards the end of the year 1788. In the following year, the Sultan Abdulhamid died, and was succeeded by Selim III., who, on his exchanging the imprisonment of the Seraglio for the throne, confirmed Ali Pacha in all his honours and appointments. The situation of the Turkish empire was at this period most critical. The plan for the seizure of the Ottoman territories is said to have been arranged in the personal interviews between the Emperor Joseph and the Russian Czarina, during their journey to the Crimea, in 1787, and they were carrying on their preparations for opening the campaign with an attack along the whole line of the Turkish frontier in Europe,

* Klissura is situated at the entrance of the narrow defile anciently called the *Fauces Antigoneæ Stena Aoi*, where, in the first Macedonian war, Philip stopped the advance of the Roman legions till the key of his position was betrayed to Flaminus, by a shepherd.—Liv. l. xxxii. c. 5. The mountains forming the defile are now called, those on the north side, Trebechina and Mejourani; those on the south, Melchivo. The defile is about ten miles in length from Klissura, (which, from the remains of Cyclopean masonry observable there, Mr. Hughes supposes to be the site of Antigonea,) to the junction of the Aous with the river of Argyro-castro above Tepeleni. The precipices on each side are tremendous, being not much less than a thousand feet in perpendicular height. Premeti, which some persons have taken for Antigonea, is about twelve miles higher up the Aous or Vioussa.—*Hughes*, ii. p. 119. M. Pouqueville states, that the Bey of Klissura at this time, was Mourad, Ali's own nephew; and he gives a very minute account of his assassination by his uncle, who pretended to have been attacked by him. Mr. Hughes says, "I have read, in an account which pretends to be genuine, that Ali shot his favourite nephew in one of the apartments of his palace at Litoritza. But mark the difference! I once spent an hour in that very apartment with Ali's chief physician, waiting for an audience. This gentleman, in whose arms the young Bey expired, gave me the particulars of his death, which was the consequence of a fever: he informed me that the Vizier was so dotingly fond of the youth, that he could scarcely be induced to quit his bed-side, and so inconsolable at his loss, that he had never once entered into the room from that time to the present. And this relation was amply confirmed to me by others."—*Hughes*, vol. ii. p. 108.

when the Porte anticipated them in the declaration of war. It is stated by M. de Vaudoncourt, that Greek officers in the service of the Emperor, accompanied by engineers, had gone over the coasts of Albania, the Morea, and the gulfs of Lepanto and Avlona; that they had made plans of the fortified towers of Navarino, Modon, and Patras, and reconnoitered the Isthmus; that by means of a Greek archbishop, whom he had allured to Pesth, and of Greek merchants settled at Trieste and Fiume, he had opened communications with all parts of Greece; that he kept up a large number of emissaries in Albania, who had extended themselves as far as Ioannina, and even Larissa; that at Ragusa, the Emperor had forty-four vessels, placed under the name of a merchant, which in a few days could be equipped as frigates; that in a word, the Austrian government at that time had neglected nothing to obtain the support of the Greeks, who, in fact, began to consider Joseph II. as their future liberator, and to feel towards him the same attachment they had always entertained for Russia.* But if ever there was any cordial union between the two imperial confederates who planned, at this time, the overthrow of the Ottoman empire, the death of that Emperor terminated the dangerous alliance. The mutual jealousy by which each power was actuated, prevented their union in any common effort; and the war was prosecuted by Austria, as much for the sake of checking or thwarting its too powerful rival, as with any view to the con-

* Under the pretence of furnishing Hungary with cultivators, he sought to induce Greeks to fix their residence there. He not only favoured the emigration of whole families, seeking to flee from the oppression of their masters, but he also spread decoyers in the most distant provinces of his dominions. Another not less efficacious means was his edict of toleration, issued in 1782. He therein formally promised the Greeks who might come to establish themselves within his states, to admit them to all civil and military dignities, according to their merits. A great number of Greeks flocked there from all parts. Many formed establishments in Trieste and Fiume; others were admitted into the military service. The Archbishop of Patras, Parthenius, who had been one of the most ardent in stirring up the Morea in favour of Russia, in the year 1770, and who had been obliged to take refuge at St. Petersburg, was allured to Pesth, where Joseph made a handsome provision for him, and whence he carried on an active correspondence with Greece. In 1782, two Albanian captains penetrated to Maina, and entered into negotiations with that republic, offered succour in warlike stores and money, and promised to transport field-pieces there by a sea conveyance."—*Vaudoncourt*, p. 24—31.

quest of Greece. Thus it was that their united attack on a tottering and debilitated empire produced nothing but the capture of Oczakow and Belgrade, followed by separate treaties of peace.* By the treaty of Yassy, Russia added to her vast dominions only the steppe between the Bogh and the Dniester.

1789. Ali Pacha received orders to join, at the head of his contingent of troops, the Turkish army on the banks of the Danube. According to M. Pouqueville, he had seen only the smoke of the German Bivouacks, when he re-entered his winter quarters at Ioannina, bringing home with him, instead of captives, some hundred of Servians and Bulgarians, peaceable subjects of the grand Seignior, whom he formed into two little colonies at Bonila and Mouchari, in the interior of Epirus. This appears to have been in 1789. Whatever were Ali's views at this time, the death of his friend Potemkin, and the unexpected turn of affairs in Europe, appear to have decided him, on identifying his interests with those of the Porte. But his correspondence with Potemkin had got wind, and his enemies at Constantinople were endeavouring to make use of the circumstance, to undermine his influence in the divan. Fertile in expedients, he found means to counteract these plots, and to allay the coming storm ; principally it is asserted, by the good offices of the French Minister at the Porte, whose protection he obtained through the means of the Consul at Prevesa.†

1790. It does not appear that the long-protracted contest between Ali, and the little republic of Suli, had any political causes for its origin. M. Pouqueville represents the Suliots to have been instigated to hostilities by Ibrahim, the vizier of Berat, and the agas of Thresprotia ; but he seems to think that their minds were inflamed by the flattering statements brought back by the Greek deputies from St. Petersburg. It is not, however, at all likely that they would

* The reduction of Orsova, in April, 1790, was the only military event of importance that took place on the part of the Austrians after the death of Joseph II. The insurrection in the Low Countries, the transaction on the Prussian frontier, and the influence of Great Britain, compelled the Emperor to enter into an armistice, and finally conclude a separate peace with the Porte.

† Hughes, vol. ii. p. 118. Vaudoncourt, p. 238. The latter tells an improbable story of Ali's writing to Louis XVI, and received from the French minister an insulting reply, declining his proposals, on which he turned his rage on the French consul at Arta.

have attempted a rising at so inauspicious a crisis, contrary to the express injunctions of the Russian government. It may be true, that at Suli, the rebellion was planned under Lambro Canziani, that was to have liberated the Greeks from the Ottoman yoke;* and Sottiri may have endeavoured to engage the mountaineers of Epirus in the visionary plans of a revolution to be undertaken under the faithless auspices of Russia. But the Suliots were genuine klephts; and nothing was more inevitable than that their proceedings should clash with the official duty and private interests of the dervenji-pacha, in which capacity the vizier of Epirus had most legitimate grounds for waging warfare against them. It seems that the first force which was sent out against these mountaineers, was defeated with great slaughter, and pursued to the very plain of Ioannina. This is said to have taken place before Ali joined the army of the Danube, and must apparently have happened in the time of his predecessor. In the spring of 1791, the Suliots who had been for some time quiet, issued from their retreats, and ravaged Amphilochia. "Pillaging alike friends and foes," says M. Pouqueville, "they carried their imprudence so far as to embroil themselves with the chiefs of the armatolis, and even with the Turks of Thesprotia. All commercial intercourse was interrupted in Lower Albania. The defiles were no longer passable without numerous escorts, which were often defeated by these audacious mountaineers. They even ventured to spread themselves over Pindus, and only withdrew to their own country at the approach of winter, at which season the snows render the rocky heights of Epirus uninhabitable." It seems pretty clear, that in his attempt to restrain and punish these marauders, Ali was supported by the Greek armatolis, whom he is stated to have taken into his pay, but who had themselves suffered from the incursions of the klephts. In his first serious expedition against the Suliots, it is expressly mentioned, that to the forces of the agas of Chamouri, and a corps of auxiliaries furnished by Ibrahim, Pacha of Berat, were joined by the armatolis of Agrafa, headed by Demetrius Paleopoulos, his brother-in-law Anagnostis, Canavos and Hyscos of Karpenitza. Altogether, the army is stated to have amounted to 15,000 men.† At the head of this formi-

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 122. Eton, p. 364.

† Pouqueville, vol. i. p. 51, 90. This Demetrius Paleopoulos, a native of Karpenitza in Ætolia, is celebrated as a man of distin-

dable force, Ali set out from Ioannina on the 1st of July, 1792. To conceal his designs, he began to march in the direction of Argyro-castro, but he had scarcely proceeded twenty miles when he halted and encamped. A copy is given by Mr. Hughes of a letter which he is said to have sent to Botzari and Tzavella, two of the most distinguished Suliot leaders, requesting them to join his army at the head of their palikars, and promising them double pay.* Suspicious, as it should seem, of his real intention, Tzavella only obeyed the summons at the head of 70 palikars. All of these were now seized and bound, except one, who escaped by swimming the river Kalamas, and gave the alarm at Suli. When Ali made his appearance in that district, therefore, he found the Suliots fully prepared to give him a warm reception. Having ordered Tzavella to be brought before him, the wily Pacha now offered him the amplest reward if he would procure the submission of the republic, holding out the horrible alternative of being flayed alive. Tzavella re-

guished bravery and talent. In the heroic age, says M. Pouqueville, he would have been a Theseus. As it was, he was only a klepht, till promoted by the Porte to be a waywode of his native district. He had attached himself to Ali as far back as 1786, when they met at Triccala, and their fathers are said to have been intimate. On the occasion of the Suliot war, this Greek patriot took the lead against the klephtic republic. Nicholas Cojani, Boucovallas, Stathoss, his son-in-law, Euthymos Blakavas, Zitros of Olosson, Macry Athanasius, and Macry Poulis of Greveno, Christakis of Prevesa and Andriscros, the companions in arms of Lambro Canzianis, are mentioned by Pouqueville as maintaining on this occasion an armed neutrality. A pretty clear proof that the cause of Suli was not then considered as identical with that of Grecian liberty. The number of troops which were sent against Suli, is stated by M. Prevaux, "the historian of Suli," at 28,000 men. Mr. Hughes says, "about 10,000, all tried Albanian troops."

* This letter, written in modern Greek, is preserved and translated by Eton. He, however, spells the names of the Suliot chiefs *Bogia* and *Giavella*. The letter runs thus.

My friends, Captain Bogia and Captain Giavella, I, Ali Pacha, salute you and kiss your eyes, because I well know your courage and heroic minds. It appears to me that I have great need of you; therefore, I intreat you immediately, when you receive this letter, to assemble all your heroes, and come to meet me, that I may go and fight my enemies. This is the hour and the time that I have need of you. I expect to see your friendship, and the love which you have for me. Your pay shall be double that which I give to the Albanians, because I know your courage is greater than theirs; therefore, I will not go to fight before you come, and I expect that you will come soon. This only, and I salute you.

presented, that his countrymen would never treat while he remained a prisoner, but he offered his son Foto as a hostage, if Ali would let him return to Suli, to endeavour to bring about a negotiation. His proposal was accepted, and as soon as he had regained the mountains, and consulted the other captains, he sent back a letter of defiance, in which, anticipating the sacrifice of his son, he swears to revenge him.* Foto, however, was not put to death, but subsequently obtained his liberty. The Pacha now prepared to attack Suli by force of arms ; but at this crisis, the campaign had well nigh been terminated by the death of their enemy. A detachment of these brave mountaineers, to the number of 200, having learned that Ali was encamped with his body-guard at some little distance from the main army, marched out with the determination to take him alive or dead ; and but for the timely information conveyed to Ali by a traitor, they would probably have succeeded. Ali, now infuriated to the utmost, put his troops immediately in motion.

The four villages which formed the principal seats of this martial clan, occupied a sort of natural citadel in the heart of the Cassopæan mountains, consisting of a small plain about 2000 feet above the bed of the Acheron: a grand natural breast-work descends precipitously to the river, while behind towers a lofty range of mountains. “The Acheron, (Kalamas,) after passing through the valley of Dervitziana, first enters this chasm at the gorge of Skouitias, so called from a small village of that name. A narrow path, which winds through the dark woods on the right bank, conducts the traveller in about two hours to a narrow cut across his path, called Klissura, admirably adapted to stop the progress

* See Eton, p. 371, where there is the following translation of the Captain's letter :

Ali Pacha—

I am glad I have deceived a traitor ; I am here to defend my country against a thief. My son will be put to death, but I will desperately revenge him before I fall myself. Some men, like you Turks, will say I am a cruel father, to sacrifice my son for my own safety. I answer, if you took the mountain, my son would have been killed, with all the rest of my family and my countrymen ; then I could not have revenged his death. If we are victorious, I may have other children, my wife is young. If my son, young as he is, is not willing to be sacrificed for his country, he is not worthy to live, or to be owned by me as a son. Advance, traitor ; I am impatient to be revenged. I am your sworn enemy.

CAPTAIN GIAVELLA.

of an enemy. This defile was commanded by a fort called *Tichos*, and near it was the first Suliote village, called *Avarico*. From this point a gradual ascent leads to the deserted site of *Samoniva*, thence to *Kiaffa*, (a word signifying a height,) and lastly to *Kako-Suli*, the capital of the republic. Near the spot where the mountain-path leaves the side of the *Acheron*, to wind up the precipices between *Kiaffa* and *Kako-Suli*, a conical hill overhangs the road, called *Kunghi*, on which stood the largest of the Suliote fortresses, named *Aghia Paraskevi* (Saint Friday.) At this point, another small river, flowing from the *Paramathian* mountains, joins the *Acheron*, which, descending the romantic defile of *Glyki*, enters the great *Paramathian* plain, and empties itself, after flowing through the *Acherusian* lake, into the *Ionian* Sea, near the ancient city of *Cichyrus*, or *Ephyre*.*

The Suliots, being obliged to retreat before superior numbers, were closely pursued by Ali's forces down the valley of the *Acheron*, but, at the pass of *Klissura*, they made a stand. And here the Albanian troops were assailed by such volleys of musketry from the fortress of *Tichos*, and from behind the rocks which form the defile, that the passage became nearly choked up with the slain. The ammunition of the Suliots at length beginning to fail, they were compelled to retire towards *Kiaffa*. This also was soon found to be untenable, and, followed by the Pacha's army, they retreated towards *Kako-Suli*. The great fort of *Aghia Paraskevi*, which commands the *Tripa*, a deep chasm between *Kiaffa* and the capital, was at this time so thinly garrisoned, that Suli would have been lost but for an act of female valour, which well deserves comparison with that of *Telesilla* and her *Argives*. "The heroine *Mosco*, (the wife of *Tzavellas*,) arming all her female warriors, rushed out of the town sword in hand, stopped the retreat of husbands and brethren, headed them in a valiant attack upon the assailants, now breathless from their pursuit of the fugitives up these steep acclivities, and in a moment turned the tide of war. The Albanians, in their turn, retreated and fled; the garrison of *Paraskevi*, reinforced by a number of fugitives, made a sally to increase their con-

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 121. The name of Suli is probably a corruption of the ancient *Selli*; (Homer, *Iliad*, lib. xvi. 233;) but no vestiges of any ancient cities have been discovered within the district of the Suliotes. The distance of Suli from *Ioannina* is 14 hours; from *Prevesa*, 13; from *Arta*, 14; from *Parga*, 8; from *Margarita*, 6; from *Paramathia*, 8.

fusion; heaps of stone were rolled down upon the flying foe, who were again intercepted at the fort of Tichos, and almost annihilated. Hundreds of dead bodies were rolled into the bed of the Acheron, whose torrent was encumbered with the slain.

“ Arrived at this tower, Mosco discovered the body of her favourite nephew, who had been killed in the first attack on this position. Animated with a desire of vengeance at the sight, she kissed the pale lips of the corpse, and calling on the Suliots to follow, she led them, like a tigress bereft of her whelps, against those troops who remained about the Pacha in the upper regions of the valley. Terrified by the fate of their companions, these took immediately to flight, and were pursued by the victorious Suliots as far as the village of Vareatis, within seven hours of Ioannina: they lost all their baggage, ammunition and arms, which were thrown away in the flight, besides an immense number of prisoners, whose ransom served to enrich the conquerors. Ali himself killed two horses in his precipitate escape, and when he arrived at his capital, he shut himself up in his harem for several days. About 6,000 men are said to have been slain and taken prisoners: the remainder having been dispersed over the woods and mountains, did not collect together at Ioannina for several weeks. This battle occurred July 20, 1792.”*

Ali now saw that the conquest of Suli must be given up for the present, and he is said to have made peace on most degrading terms, ceding to them possession of their acquired territory as far as Devitzianna, and paying a large sum as ransom for his captive troops, besides restoring the palikars whom he had trepanned, and Foto Tzavella among the rest.

During the ensuing four or five years, Ali appears to have kept quiet, directing his attention to the improvement of his capital, the construction of roads for the facilitating of internal commerce, and the extirpation of the robbers who infested all parts of the country. His subjects had to complain of his oppressive *avantias*; but it seems to be admitted, that, at this period, he did not display that severity of character

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 132. M. Pouqueville says, that Ali escaped in disguise, having exchanged clothes with Paleopoulos; and that the greater part of those who rallied round him were *armatolis*, who had formed his body-guard; those who perished in the defile, were chiefly Moslems,

which subsequently broke out into so many acts of wanton cruelty; and his despotism was, on the whole, a beneficent one to the country. In the meantime, French revolutionists were busy about Ali, flattering him with the hope of being enabled to throw off the yoke of obedience to the Porte, and to assume the independent sovereignty of Epirus; and when, in 1797, he saw the Venetians driven from the Ionian Islands, and their continental dependencies, in pursuance of the treaty of Campo Formio, and the French flag waving on the shores of Epirus, he eagerly entered into secret negotiations with General Bonaparte, then at the head of his victorious army in Italy. The benefits which he drew from this alliance were substantial and immediate. He gained permission to sail with his flotilla through the channel of Corfu, in spite of former treaties; and he surprised and captured the two independent towns of Aghia Vasili and Nivitza, on the coast opposite to that island, massacring the inhabitants in church one Easter Sunday, while engaged in divine service. Soon after this, he took possession of the important fishery at Santa Quaranta, as well as of the excellent harbour of Porto Palermo, where he built a large fort; thus drawing a cordon round the pachalik of Delvino. His agents at Constantinople made a permit of these acts, by representing them as done solely for the advantage of the Porte and the subjugation of infidels, which Ali did not fail to confirm by paying tribute for every place he conquered. Still further to raise his credit at Constantinople, he headed his contingent of Albanian troops, and joined the Grand Vizier in his campaign against the rebel Pacha of Widin, Paswan Oglou.* He was engaged in this expedition when he received intelligence of the invasion of Egypt by the French, and the approaching rupture between France and Turkey. Foreseeing that the Ionian Islands would probably again change hands, he hastened back to Ioannina, leaving his son Mouctar in command of his troops, that he might be in readiness to avail himself of any events that might be converted to his own advantage. In

* An anecdote, highly characteristic, is related of him at this period. The Grand Vizier, under pretence of bestowing public approbation upon his conduct, requested his attendance in full divan. Ali, conscious how much more he merited the bow-string than half the victims who had been honoured with that Turkish martyrdom, went, but had the precaution to surround the vizier's tent with 6,000 of his Albanians. As might be expected, his reception was courteous, but the conference was short.

fact, he did not wait long before he commenced operations by seizing on Prevesa, the strongest and most important of all the ex-Venetian possessions on the continent. The alleged detention of one of his brigs sailing into the Gulf of Arta, was made the pretext for attacking his former allies. The unfortunate Prevesans had scarcely time to send their families and moveable property to the neighbouring islands; and many, discrediting the report of the Pacha's approach, neglected that precaution. The place was ill prepared to make any defence. The French garrison capitulated after a short resistance, and the Prevesans being most easily routed, their city was given up to pillage.* Vonitza, Gomenitza, and Bucintro, subsequently fell into his hands, and Parga and Santa Maura narrowly escaped; the former, through the determined conduct and bravery of the inhabitants, the latter through the timely interposition of a Greek captain in the Russian service, who arrived off the island just in time to intercept Ali's flotilla. No failure in his schemes, it is said, ever annoyed him so much as this disappointment.

In March, 1800, a treaty was concluded between Russia and Turkey, by which the independence of the Seven Islands was guaranteed under protection of the former power, upon payment of an annual tribute of 75,000 piastres to the Porte: the continental dependencies were all annexed to the dominions of the Sultan, except Parga, which resolutely maintained its independence. When the Russian forces had retired, Ali, unwilling to abandon his project, still indulged in the hope of being able to seize on Corfu and Santa Maura, the possession of which would have consolidated his power on the adjacent part of the continent. Under pretext of sustaining the pretensions of the nobility, he excited the first commotions that broke out in those islands, of which he availed himself to represent to the Divan, that the only means of restoring tranquillity, would be to allow him to garrison Corfu, Parga, and Santa Maura. His representations and his gold would probably have prevailed at Constantinople, had not the Ionian senate defeated his intrigues by throwing themselves into the arms of Russia. This measure,

* The bishop of Prevesa is said to have been an active agent in forming a party at Prevesa in favour of Ali; but, disgusted with his atrocious cruelties, he afterwards deserted him. Upwards of 300 Prevesans are stated to have been massacred, by Ali's orders, in cold blood.

which overturned all his projects, did not fail to increase his jealousy against that power, and he was thenceforth its implacable enemy. Anxious to extend his foreign relations, he now availed himself of the appearance of a British squadron in the Ionian Sea, to open a correspondence with the admiral; but it does not appear that his negotiations led at this time to any definite result, and he soon reverted to his French connexions.

It was some compensation for the disappointment of his schemes, that the ambitious Vizier now received the public thanks of the Sultan for his eminent services, together with a present of the *kelick-caftan* (a fine ermine pelisse) and a sword decorated with brilliants. To complete his elevation, he was made *Rumelie-valisee*, or Viceroy of Roumelia. Bound by the duties of his office to visit the provinces confided to his jurisdiction, he did not fail to turn to good account the discharge of this obligation. Being charged to collect the arrears of contributions due to the imperial treasury, as well in money as in kind, he increased them, it is said, in the proportion of three to five, reserving two fifths as his per centage for the trouble of collecting. He took up his residence for some time at Monastir, a large town about a day's journey west of the lake of Ochrida, which he pillaged in the most shameless manner, carrying away nineteen waggons laden with valuable effects. It is calculated that, besides money and other articles, 20,000 sheep were, by this visitation, added to his property; and the sum total of the exactions wrested from these provinces has been estimated at 10,000,000 of piastres.

CHAPTER X.

Ali intends to attack the Ionian Isles.—He sends an agent to Bonaparte.—Obtains a skilful Engineer.—Napoleon occupies the Ionian Isles.—Suli and the Suliots.—War between them and Ali.—Suliots take the fortress of Villa.—Their women destroy their children and then themselves.—Mosco, a woman, holds a commission.—Ali's intrigues.—Plan of the French and the Porte to attack him.—The city of Argyro-castro taken by Ali.—He also takes Gardiki and slaughters the inhabitants.—Sultan's Executioner visits Ali.—Carries a good account of him to his Master.—Attempts to take Parga.—Divan pronounces sentence against him.—His extremity and distress.—Retreats to his Castle at Ioannina, where he is besieged by the Sultan's troops.—His death.

THE victory of Austerlitz and the peace of Presburg, by which Dalmatia and Illyricum were annexed to the kingdom of Italy, recalled the attention of Ali towards France. As Russia still continued in hostility with Napoleon, and had just seized on Cattaro, Ali thought that a favourable opportunity was now afforded for attacking that power in the Ionian Islands.* He accordingly sent a secret agent to Bonaparte, to solicit that a French consul might be sent to reside at his capital; and M. Pouqueville was selected for the office, with the title of consul general, while his brother was appointed vice-consul under him at Prevesa. The French minister at the Porte at this time governed the Divan. Through his interest, Ali procured the pachalik of Lepanto for his elder son, Mouctar, and for Veli, his younger son, that of the Morea. In return, he assisted Sebastiani in promoting the rupture between Turkey and Russia. Hostilities having commenced, he engaged to push the war so vigorously against the Russians in the islands, that they should be unable to annoy the French army in Dalmatia, provided that he were supplied with artillery and engineers. At the commencement of 1807, he appeared to be on the point of obtaining the object of his wishes. Fifty artillery men, several

* The reader will remember that these islands were taken by the Russians in 1799, and kept by them until 1807.

officers, together with ordnance and military stores, were sent out to him in a gunboat and a corvette from the kingdom of Naples, while Colonel Vaudoncourt, a skilful engineer, sent out by Marshal Marmont, remained with Ali to superintend operations. Under his direction, additional works were thrown up round Ioannina, Prevesa was fortified, and the siege of Santa Maura was begun. Notwithstanding a well-timed diversion promoted by the Russians, who excited a general insurrection of the Tzamourists and Paramathians, it was prosecuted with vigour. The explosion of a powder-magazine having dismantled one of the forts, a landing-point was left uncovered, and orders were given to construct a sufficient number of flat-bottomed boats to turn it to advantage. Indeed, every thing was ready for the arrival of a corps of 10,000 Albanians, when the peace of Tilsit most opportunely put a stop to hostilities. Ali would fain have prosecuted his operations; but the French officers refused to consent, and Santa Maura was saved. Napoleon was sufficiently informed that all Ali's selfish views centred in the occupation of the Septinsular republic, and Mehemet Effendi, an Italian renegade, despatched by Ali to the Emperor, used every exertion to obtain a promise from Napoleon, that at least Santa Maura and Parga should be ceded to his master. The integrity of the Ionian Republic was, however, one of the bases of the negotiations resolved upon at Tilsit; and his agent could accomplish nothing; Parga, of which he endeavoured to gain possession, placing itself under the protection of the Ionian government.

As soon as Ali saw the islands occupied by French troops, his friendship with Napoleon was at an end. He now again turned to England, and requested that an accredited agent might be sent out to him from that country. In the autumn of 1808, a British agent had a secret conference with the Vizier at Prevesa, at which the plan of operations was concerted. Ali engaged to second, by all his influence, the attempts of Sir A. Paget to bring about a peace between Turkey and Great Britain; and to him it is stated to have been entirely owing, that the point was carried. At that moment, the insurrection of the janizaries and the death of the Grand Vizier had thrown every thing at Constantinople into such confusion, that Mr. Adair was about to quit his station in despair, when Ali wrote to him to urge his remaining to wait the event. So important, indeed, were his services deemed by the British cabinet, that, by way of acknowledgment,

very fine park of artillery, with several hundreds of the then newly-invented Congreve's rockets, were sent him on board a transport, while Major Leake, who had the care of the artillery, was ordered to remain to teach his Albanian troops the use of it, and to act as English resident. The expulsion of the French from Zante, Cephalonia, Ithica, and Corfu, and the occupation of those islands by the English in the autumn of 1809, confirmed his determination openly to espouse the interest of Great Britain. He now opened his ports to our merchants and cruizers, and granted supplies, on the most liberal terms, for our navy and army in the Spanish Peninsula. By this means, he secured a powerful ally against the hour of need; and when, in 1813, the Divan, instigated by Andreossy, the French minister at the Porte, had, as it appears, well nigh determined on his destruction, the representations of the British ambassadors had no small influence in averting the storm from the dominion of so useful an ally.*

We must now go back a little, to give the sequel of the history of Suli. On his return to Ioannina, after his expedition to Romelia in 1800-1, Ali determined to recommence operations against this little republic, to which he was more particularly incited by its intimate connexion with Parga and Corfu. Botzari, one of the most distinguished leaders, had been, in the meantime, bought over to his interests, and the Pacha was led to believe that Suli would surrender on the first attack. He was, however, wofully mistaken. Foto Tzavella survived, and together with the Amazon Mosco, a martial calayer or monk, named Samuel, of wild, enthusiastic character, and some other leaders of kindred spirit, still defied his power. Ali took the field with about 18,000 men; the number of Suliot palikars never exceeded at any time 3000.† But numbers, far from being of avail in such a field

* M. Pouqueville asserts, that Ali actually received orders to quit Ioannina, and to retire to Tepeleni; and he gives a long conversation which he alleges to have passed between the Vizier and himself on the occasion of his departure. The French had then just entered Moscow. But no sooner had the tragical twenty-ninth bulletin of the grand army spread through Greece the news of Napoleon's disasters, than Ali returned to Ioannina.

† Before their first war with Ali Pacha, the Suliots possessed sixty-six villages, "all conquered by their arms;" but the republic consisted of the four stations, Kako-Suli, containing 425 families; Kiaffa, 60; Avarico, 55; and Samonia, 30; total 570. The settlement is said to have originated with a few goatherds about the mid-

of action, only served to create confusion and embarrassment. The Albanian troops, on endeavouring to penetrate the defile of Glyki, were overwhelmed with huge stones poured down from the overhanging precipices, and with volleys of musket-balls from unseen marksmen. Foto Tzavella, at the head of about 200 chosen palikars, is stated to have routed with great slaughter a detachment of 3,000 Albanians, while his own loss did not exceed twenty men. The total loss, in killed and prisoners, on the part of Ali, in various successive attacks, exceeded in numbers the sum total of the Suliot army. Botzari was himself repulsed in a treacherous attempt to lead a party over the mountain of Raithovuni ; and his death, a few months after, was supposed to be the effect either of chagrin, or of poison administered by his own hand.

Despairing to subdue such valiant and determined enemies in open warfare, Ali turned the siege into a blockade, resolving to trust to famine and treachery. But his troops began to desert ; and while the Suliots, according to a Parghiot historian, lost in nine months but twenty-five men, Ali lost, by defection, and in various skirmishes within the same period, nearly 4,000. In the desperate emergency to which the besieged were sometimes reduced, many stratagems were resorted to for procuring provisions, among which the contrivance of Gianni Striviniotti deserves particular mention. "This man, having received intelligence that the Turks had lately procured a large supply of cattle from the neighbouring pastures, dressed himself in his white capote and camise, and concealing himself till the shades of evening had descended, walked out on all fours from his lurking place, and mingling with the herds, entered together with them into the stalls where they were shut up. In the dead of the night he arose silently, opened the doors, unloosed the oxen, and drove them towards a party of his friends who were in waiting to receive them. The Albanians heard the noise, but were so alarmed by suspicion of an ambuscade, that they lay still, and preferred the loss of their cattle to the danger of their lives."

About this time, Ali was called off by orders from the Porte to lead his contingent against Paswan Oglou, and the

dle of the seventeenth century. In the notes to Sheridan's Songs of Greece, among which will be found several relating to Suli, it is stated that the Suliots never reckoned more than 1,500, and seldom above 1,000 muskets. The population is set down at 5,000 souls. But little dependence can be placed on Greek statements.

Suliots availed themselves of his absence to lay in stores both of provisions and arms. On his return, he again had recourse to a false and treacherous proposal of peace, on the conditions of being allowed to build and garrison one tower within their district, and of their banishing the brave Foto Tzavella from the Suliot territory, as the chief impediment in the way of tranquillity. It does not appear that the former condition was complied with; and yet, the folly and infatuation which a compliance with it would have displayed, would not have been greater than the Suliots were actually guilty of in "requesting the succession" of their bravest captain, whose highest panegyric was conveyed by the insulting proposal. Ali's ambassadors on this occasion were, as usual, two traitors, who had deserted their country's cause; and by dint of threats and promises, they prevailed. Foto, on finding himself forsaken by his deluded followers, set fire to his dwelling, declaring that no enemy of Suli should ever cross the dwelling of the Tzavellas; he then buried his sword, and left his countrymen, "much in the same state," remarks Mr. Hughes, "as the silly sheep who were persuaded by the wolves to dismiss their guardians." After this act of folly and baseness, one really feels a diminished interest in the fate of the republic.

Whether a peace was or was not nominally concluded, or whether the Suliots were still in a state of blockade, is not very clear; but in May, 1803, the Suliots made a vigorous attack upon an Albanian fortress at Villa, which served as the principal magazine for Ali's army. This they succeeded in taking, and destroyed by fire and sword nearly the whole garrison. So daring an achievement could not but inflame their implacable enemy to the utmost height of fury. He issued proclamations, calling upon every Mahometan throughout his dominions to avenge this slaughter upon the heads of the infidels, and an immense army was again brought into the field against this small band of mountaineers. Treachery opened to the invaders the otherwise impenetrable passes, and the Suliots, worn down at length by war and famine, and strictly blockaded, were reduced to the necessity of accepting terms of capitulation, which Ali never meant to fulfil. The treaty was ratified on the 12th of December, 1803, by which the whole population was to be allowed to emigrate and settle wherever they might please. Men, women, and children being gathered together, they separated into two bodies; one taking the direction of Parga, the other that of

Prevesa. Both parties were waylaid by the troops of the perfidious tyrant: the former fought their way through, but the latter all eventually perished. A party of about a hundred women and children, being cut off from the rest, fled, it is stated, to a steep precipice near the monastery of Zalongo; there, the children were first thrown over the rocks by their mothers, and then the matrons, joining hand in hand, and raising their minds to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by native songs, whirled round and round in a species of frantic dance till they approached the edge of the cliff, from which they one and all threw themselves headlong. Another small detachment, having been taken captive, was subsequently released, and allowed by Ali to settle at Vurgareli, at the foot of Mount Tzumerka; but this was only a treacherous respite; they were afterwards extirpated by a detachment of Albanians, except a few that escaped into Acarnania. The scattered remnant of the tribe took refuge, some at Santa Maura, others with the Albanian beys; but the greater part retired to Parga and Corfu, to subsist on charity, or to enrol themselves in the service of their protectors. A number of them subsequently entered into the Russian service, and formed a regiment in the Albanian battalion. After the peace of Tilsit, this corps passed into the service of the French under Colonel Minot. Foto Tzavella and Mosco, his *mother*, both held commissions for some time, but resigned them from disgust at ill treatment. The former passed over to Ioannina, threw himself at the feet of the destroyer of his country, and was received into his service. Mosco, who accompanied him, married a second husband, and was living in the capital at the time of Mr. Hughes' visit. Their native mountains then formed the strongest post in their conqueror's dominions, and a splendid fortified serai adorned the highest top of Kiaffa as a monument of his base triumph.

The history of Ali Pacha now becomes interwoven with a complicated series of intrigues and counter-intrigues on the part of Russian, French, and English agents, which it is very difficult to develope. M. Pouqueville admits, that Ibrahim Pacha of Berat had written to the French government, intreating to be taken under its protection, and offering the exclusive commerce of the port of Avlona, as well as proposing to admit some French artillery-men into that fortress. The expedition of Ali against Berat, was not undertaken, therefore, without a plausible pretext. The Vizier of Ioannina

had good reason to dread the machinations of the French in that quarter; and notwithstanding M. Pouqueville's pathetic and sentimental exclamations against the cruel treatment of the venerable Ibrahim, who, as being in the French interest, must needs have been one of the very best of men, there can be no doubt that, had not Ali seized upon Berat, his own dominions would soon have been invaded from that quarter. The citadel of that town, planted on a lofty hill on the right bank of the Apsus, had hitherto been deemed impregnable; but so effectively plied were the newly invented rockets under the direction of the English engineer officer, (Major Leake,) that Ibrahim was obliged to capitulate upon condition of retiring with all his suite and treasure to Avlona. "Ali, in his carriage," (we borrow the account from Mr. Hughes,) "surrounded by his troops, waited on the left bank of the river till Ibrahim had passed over the bridge; he then entered and took possession of Berat, not only without the sanction, but even without the knowledge of the Porte. He thought it proper, however, to send a despatch to Constantinople, informing his sovereign, that a great part of Upper Albania being in a state of revolt, and Ibrahim Pacha being not only incapable, by reason of his age and other infirmities, to restore order, but lying under strong suspicions from his attachment, first to the Russians, and lately to the French, he had deemed proper to secure this important fortress with troops that could be relied on. He also sent very large sums of money to be distributed among the members of the Divan, and thus procured, not only pardon, but approbation from the Sultan, who yielded immediately to his request of conferring the government upon his son Mouctar. The three tails, however, were not taken, as is usual on losing a pashalik, from Ibrahim, whose character was held in high estimation both at Constantinople and in his own dominions.

"This success threw into the hands of Ali, not only the strongest fortress, but the finest province of Upper Albania; for the great plain of Musakia is the very granary of the country. He at first used his victory with great moderation, lest the people, if persecuted, should join the standard of their former chief. Leaving this new acquisition in the hands of his faithful follower, Usuff Araps, Ali returned speedily to his capital, to take every advantage of the success of the British in the Ionian sea. During the bombardment of Santa Maura by the British troops, he encamped opposite that island

with a large force, anxious to find some opportunity of mingling in the affray, and urging his own claims to the occupation of the island. These he pressed vehemently after its surrender, but, being unable to substantiate them, he deceived the commanders by cunningly gaining permission to build barracks for his soldiers ; instead of which, he threw up two strong fortresses, each commanding an entrance into the channel, and one of them even the castle of Santa Maura.

“ But, though Ali, could neither gain from his British allies the possession of Santa Maura, nor persuade them at this time to drive the French out of Parga, that he might himself occupy that fortress, he did not think it his interest to show any sign of ill-humour at present : he still had a great game to play, in which no ally could afford him such material assistance as England. He was placed in a most advantageous position between the great rival powers, and he was determined to make the most of it. Five of the islands were under the protection of the British, and two under that of the French ; the former courting his assistance, the latter dreading his enmity. In this conjuncture of circumstances, he played his cards admirably. He encouraged the blockade of Corfu, under promise of co-operation, while he took advantage of the distress to introduce provisions secretly for his own gain and profit. Forging letters of correspondence between the French generals and Ibrahim Pacha, or the rulers of other states upon the coast of the Adriatic,* he very easily procured the assistance of our naval commanders in all his enterprises ; while those hardy and warlike tribes who had hitherto resisted his aggressions, because their own valour *had been seconded by the powers which possessed the Ionian Isles*, finding their succours thus cut off, and their offers of devotion rejected, were obliged to surrender unconditionally to his arms, or run the chance of extermination. The Chimarriots, descendants of the ancient Chaonians, and the bravest people of Epirus, whose very trade was war, defended their rugged mountains to the last extremity, fighting sword in hand, with very little intermission, for three suc-

* Whether they were *forged* letters, as Mr. Hughes asserts, may be questioned. M. Pouqueville admits, that Ibrahim Pacha had transmitted proposals to the French government ; and Mr. Hughes, in the latter branch of this same sentence, speaks of an actual correspondence between the Chimarriots and the French and Russian authorities in the Ionian Isles.

cessive days, after they had expended all their ammunition. Ali, however, had gained possession of their principal village, called *Vouno*, by his old art of bribery, and falling upon the rear of these warriors, cut the greater part of them to pieces. The country then surrendered, and the Vizier, having garrisoned its strong holds, carried to Ioannina 250 hostages, for the peaceable conduct of the inhabitants.

1810. “ In 1810, Ali escaped the greatest danger with which he had hitherto been threatened. This was nothing less than a plan of operations concerted between the French generals, and sanctioned by the Porte, to attack him by a force from the island of Corfu, and at the same time by a large corps under Marshal Marmont, from Dalmatia. Nothing but the success of the British armies in Spain, which called Marmont’s army to that quarter, preserved Ali from destruction. The French, however, never totally gave up the plan, and would have made the attempt from Corfu alone, but for the intervention of a British fleet. Poor Ibrahim Pacha had been implicated in the formation of this enterprise, and was now left alone to resist the attack of his irritated and powerful adversary. Ali besieged him so closely in Avlona, while two English frigates blockaded the port against the introduction of supplies from the French, that Ibrahim fled in disguise, with a few of his principal followers, and took refuge in the mountains of Liaberi or Liapuria. There, he was soon after betrayed, and was conducted by his conqueror, in a species of mock triumph, to the city of Konitza, whence, after the lapse of a year, he was conducted to Ioannina, and confined a close prisoner in a solitary tower, where this venerable old man, the father-in-law of Ali’s two sons, might be seen like a wild beast through the iron bars of his dungeon.

“ The Pacha of Delvino, with the chiefs of Liapuria, Argyro-castro, and Gardiki, alarmed at the storm which they saw gathering round them, speedily assembled their forces, which were attacked and defeated by Ali in the plains between Argyro-castro and Delvino. He then entered and took possession of the latter place, making prisoners two sons of Mustapha Pacha, whom he sent to Ioannina, and confined in a convent of the island. Two others made their escape to Corfu, where they were soon assassinated by an emissary of the Vizier’s. Mustapha himself had retired to Gardiki. The great city of Argyro-castro next surrendered after a

short conflict ; and the whole valley of the Druno, the richest and most populous in all Albania, fell entirely under the Vizier's dominion.*

No place now remained for him to conquer, but Gardiki, which had first offended him, and upon which he resolved to pour the vial of his wrath. This place, the population of which was entirely Mahometan, surmounted a fine conical hill, surrounded with an amphitheatre of the most splendid mountain scenery. Well knowing what they had to expect from the resentment of their ancient foe, the Gardikiotes prepared for the most vigorous defence. For a long time operations went on slowly. Ali's own generals discovered a reluctance to execute his vindictive intentions ; upon which he despatched a confidential officer, at the head of a large body of Greek and Albanian troops, with instructions to act promptly in combination with all the other Greeks in the army. They, he well knew, would exterminate a Mahometan tribe with the greatest alacrity ; and as the Turkish generals did not dare interfere, the city was soon given up to all the horrors of assault. Very few persons escaped. Those who were reserved as prisoners, were afterwards, to the number of between seven and eight hundred, massacred in cold blood in the presence of Ali, their bodies being left unburied to rot upon the place of execution, which was a large khan near the commencement of the Gardikiote territory. The gate-way of the area was then walled up, and an inscription placed over it cut in stone, which signifies, " Thus perish all the enemies of Ali's house." It is stated, that every individual victim underwent a personal examination by the Vizier himself, previously to the order being given for the execution, and that some few were in consequence spared, probably on its being found that they were unconnected with the old inhabitants. On the same day, seventy-two Gardikiote beys, and other prisoners of distinction, who had been conveyed to Ioannina, and treated with a delusive show of clemency and respect, were all strangled. From the khan, Ali marched to Gardiki itself, which he laid in ruins, and placed it under an anathema, prohibiting it from ever again becoming the habitation of man. The property of its citizens he had already converted to his own use ; and as they were great merchants, he is stated to have kept an accurate account of all the debts due to them, and to have exacted the

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 187—191.

most punctual payment. “Every Gardikiote that was subsequently discovered within the dominions of Ali, was arrested and put to death, when his corpse was sent to augment the mouldering heap of his unfortunate countrymen at the khan of Valiare. The Vizier was grievously offended with his son Veli, who refused to put to death some Gardikiotes in his service, or surrender them up.”

1812. This crowning act of atrocity took place on the 15th of March, 1812. Mustapha, Pacha of Delvino, died soon after in prison at Ioannina, not without suspicion of having been starved to death.* A few months after this, Ibrahim Pacha disappeared: it was the general belief at Ioannina, that he too had been put to death, and the French consul despatched a courier with the intelligence to Constantinople. A *capigi-bashee*† of the highest rank was consequently sent to Ioannina, with orders to investigate the affair. On his arrival, Ali expressed the greatest astonishment, and directed the officer of the Porte to be conducted to Ibrahim’s apartment, where the object of his visit was found, surrounded with every comfort, and professing to be perfectly happy in the society of his daughters and their children. The *capigi-bashee* was dismissed with magnificent presents, and on his return, gave a most favourable report of Ali’s conduct. This attempt to draw down on him the vengeance of the Porte, only turned therefore to his advantage; but Ali was not ignorant of the danger to which he had been exposed, or of the quarter in which it had originated.‡

In the meantime, the battle of Leipsig had totally changed the aspect of political affairs in Europe, and Ali saw himself on the point of being relieved from any dangers arising from French influence in the Divan. Foreseeing that the French possessions in the Ionian Sea would fall into the hands of the British, he resolved to be before-hand with them in seizing upon Parga,—“that single, solitary rock, which alone, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, was

* M. Pouqueville states, that his fate was the same as that of Toussaint Louverture. In his anxiety to blacken the dark character of Ali, he forgot that he was himself at this time the agent of Toussaint’s murderer.

† Sultan’s Executioner.

‡ Mr. Hughes considers the whole to have been a manœuvre of Ali’s, having for its object to sound the feelings of the Divan, prior to his venturing on the murder of Ibrahim. This does not appear, however, to be more than a probable surmise. If it was so, the French consul was clearly outwitted.

illuminated by the rays of liberty.” “Having failed,” says Mr. Hughes, “in the alluring temptations which he held out to M. Pouqueville and General Denzelot, (the commandant at Corfu,) he determined upon one of those prompt movements which were so habitual to him, and for which he had been some time prepared, feeling little doubt that, if he should once gain possession of the place, he could find means to justify his conduct, or to appease resentment. Unauthorized, then, by his government, which, at this time, was at peace with France, and without any declaration of war, he moved an overwhelming force against Parga, in the month of February, 1814; at the same time ordering his flotilla to sail from Prevesa for the purpose of aiding in the siege, and of intercepting all the inhabitants that might endeavour to escape to the islands. These directions, however, were rendered nugatory by the spirited conduct of some English cruisers, who refused to let his vessels approach. On the 28th of February, Ali’s troops carried by assault Aja and Rapesa, two frontier villages of the Parghiot territory, putting to death many of the inhabitants, and sending the remainder into slavery. Here a small fort was erected, and the army advanced upon Parga. The French garrison retired into the citadel without any show of resistance, the only opposition being made by the bravery of the inhabitants. These marched out with exultation to the defence of their country, accompanied by women and children, who handed ammunition, and loaded the muskets of their husbands and parents. The contest was neither long nor sanguinary: for the Parghiots, having the advantage of ground and shelter, effectually checked the Vizier’s troops; especially his cavalry, as they charged up a narrow causeway, leading to the city, so that they were obliged to retreat, after losing several of their companions, among whom was a near relation of Ali’s, the commander of the Albanian forces, called Athanasius Macrys.

1814. In spite of this victory, the Parghiots had sufficient cause to tremble; and they had additional reason for alarm when they discovered that a secret correspondence was carried on between their inveterate foe and the commandant of the French garrison.* In this dilemma, they despatched a message to Captain Garland, who had lately

* M. Pouqueville pretends, that Colonel Nicole had not been in correspondence with Ali, but his own statement makes against him.

taken possession of the little island of Paxo, requesting to be received under British protection. With the utmost secrecy, a plan was organized for taking possession of the citadel. An English flag, concealed under the girdle of a boy, was brought into the fortress, without exciting suspicion; a signal was given, by ringing a bell, to the conspirators, who rushing forward, disarmed the centinels, seized upon the rest of the garrison, and hoisted the British standard in place of the tri-coloured flag. Only one man lost his life in this almost bloodless conspiracy; he was a Cephalonian, in the French service, and commissary of police, who, thrusting his head out of a window, with loud exhortations to blow up the magazine, was instantly shot. The inhabitants being now in full possession of the place, the Hon. Sir Charles Gordon landed with a detachment of British troops, sent off the French garrison, under terms of capitulation, to Corfu, and took possession of the place on the 22d of March, 1814.

“ Under the powerful ægis of Great Britain, Parga remained for about three years comparatively happy, increasing both in wealth and population, although the mention of its name was omitted in the treaties of Vienna and Paris, which consigned to English protection the Septinsular Republic.....But Ali Pacha's ambitious mind could not rest quietly when disappointed in a design which lay nearest his heart; and his gold proved in this, as in many other instances, all powerful at Constantinople. Parga was demanded by the Porte as the price of her acquiescence to the British occupation of the Ionian Isles; and a secret treaty consigned over to Mahometan despotism the last little spot of ancient Greece, that had remained unpolluted by her infidel conquerors. An article, however, was inserted in this treaty, which provided that every person who emigrated should be remunerated for the loss of his property.”*

1819. On the 10th of May, 1819, the unfortunate inhabitants resolving not to live under Turkish despotism, prepared to evacuate their native soil: and when Ali Pacha reached the walls, he found the city silent and deserted. The whole population had embarked, voluntary exiles, for the Ionian Isles. Still, he exulted over the barren conquest, which made him the master of continental Greece “ from the Attic boundary of Parnes to the rugged mountains of Illyricum.”

* Hughes, vol. 2.

But the career of this modern Herod was now drawing to a close.* The accidental destruction of his palace at Tepeleni by fire, is stated to have led to the discovery of the immense wealth concealed within its walls, exaggerated accounts of which reaching the ears of the Sultan Mahmoud, excited the cupidity, while it offended the pride of that monarch. Ali, however, might yet have been permitted to die in his bed, and the Porte would have been contented to become his heir, had it not been for the secret measures taken by his implacable enemy, Ismael Pacho, whom Ali's emissaries had repeatedly attempted to assassinate. Having gained over Chalet Effendi, who had formerly been in the interest of Ali, but whom the avaricious Vizier had imprudently ceased to salary, Pacho resolved to make use of his powerful influence in the Divan, to execute his long cherished scheme of vengeance against the family of Tepeleni. Ali heard with dismay, that the object of his hatred and fear was nominated a *capiji bashee*; and the next intelligence was, that his son Veli was dismissed from the government of Triccala, (Thessaly,) to the pashalik of Lepanto. It was evident, either that his gold had lost its charm at Constantinople, or that it had not been of late so liberally distributed as formerly; and there is some reason to believe that his avarice paved the way for his downfall. It was, however, now too late to intrigue, and Ali resolved to intimidate the Divan by one of those bold strokes which he had often found to succeed. Two Albanians were despatched to Constantinople with orders to destroy Pacho Bey. The attempt was made, but their intended victim escaped; and one of the culprits being pursued and overtaken, after confessing that they had been employed by Ali Pacha, was hung before the gate of the imperial seraglio.† The Divan now thought it high time to take

* In 1819, Ali himself was, according to M. Pouqueville, seventy-eight years of age. Of his family, there were living Mouctar Beglier, Bey of Berat, aged fifty; Veli, Vizier of Thessaly, (Triccala,) aged forty-six; Salik, Pacha of Lepanto, aged eighteen.

† M. Pouqueville tells us, that Ali sent *three* assassins; that they all fired at Pacho Bey, as he was on his way to the mosque of St. Sophia, but that he was only slightly wounded; and that all three were seized in the very act, and executed. An anonymous, but more credible account, given in a private letter, states, that the chamberlain was fired at while looking out of his window; that the assassins scampered off at full gallop, and that one only was overtaken at a village about sixty miles from Constantinople. In this account, the promotion of Pacho

strong measures; and in council specially summoned, the sentence of *firmanly* was pronounced against the old Pacha, by which he was placed under the ban of the empire, unless within forty days he should appear at the golden threshold of the gate of felicity, to answer to the charge of high treason. His old enemy, Ismael Pacho Bey, was nominated Pacha of Ioannina, and appointed to the command of the expedition that was directed to proceed against this too formidable subject. And to give the greater effect to these decided measures, a bull of excommunication and anathema was issued against Ali by the mufti, the primate of Islam.

1820. These events took place in the month of February, 1820. March, however, passed away without the army having been put in motion; and an interval occurred, which might have been turned to good account, had Ali possessed talents and energy equal to the occasion. But he seems to have halted between a desire to be reconciled to the Grand Seignior, and the determination to defend his possessions; and thus divided, he took no effectual or decisive steps to accomplish either. His mind does not appear to have been enfeebled by age, so much as by avarice and distrust, which infallibly attend the last stage of a despot's career, neutralising or paralysing the passion of ambition itself. Ali's avarice had raised up his most formidable enemies, and it now withheld him from making the sacrifices which might yet have propitiated the Divan, or defeated its measures. On the other hand, he had reason for distrusting his Mahometan subjects, well knowing that their religious scruples would restrain them from openly resisting the imperial *firman*, backed as it was by the anathema of the mufti. Under these circumstances, Ali had no alternative but to call the *armatolis* to his aid, and to put arms into the hands of the Albanian and Greek Christians, with the promise of liberal pay and ample booty. At the same time, he despatched emissaries to the Montenegrins and Servians, to excite them to a simultaneous revolt. It is even said, that he dissembled so far as to profess an intention to embrace Christianity; that he talked of emancipating the Greeks as a nation, and driving their Ottoman tyrants beyond the Bosphorus. The *armatolis* rose in a mass at his call, and dispers-

Bey, who had previously been sentenced to death, through the machinations of Ali, is ascribed to the influence of the viceroy of Egypt, to whom he had fled for protection.—See *Hughes' Travels*, vol. ii. p. 221.

ing themselves over the mountain roads and defiles, performed with alacrity his orders in intercepting all couriers, plundering the caravans, and putting a stop to all intercourse with the western provinces. But it does not appear that Ali placed much reliance on these guerilla bands; and his object seems to have been, to intimidate the Porte by this manœuvre, rather than to repel invasion. The time had been when the Divan might have been compelled by these means to come to some amicable arrangement; but in vain did the primates now represent that Ali alone was capable of repressing these disorders: the stratagem, if such it was, did not take. The Turkish authorities had recourse, indeed, to a very dangerous and impolitic expedient for counteracting these operations. Suleyman Pacha, on entering Thessaly as seraskier, addressed a proclamation to the ecclesiastics, civil primates, and others, persons in authority, authorising the people to take up arms against Ali. It has been supposed, however, that this measure was either an unauthorized act of the Turkish commander, and disapproved of by the Porte, or that it was the result of intrigue, perfidiously devised by Suleyman's Greek secretary, Anagnostis, who issued the proclamation in his own language only. However this may have been, or whether Suleyman had really entered into any correspondence or not with the rebel Vizier, he was suddenly recalled, and, in his way to Constantinople, was met at Salonica by the fatal *capigi-bashee*,* who came for his head. The pashalik was given to Mohammed Drama Ali, the father-in-law of Ismael Pacho.

And now the war against Ali appears to have been undertaken in earnest; and while Ismael Pacho received orders to hold himself in readiness to march on Epirus, a Turkish squadron appeared in the Ionian Sea. Elated by some trifling success, and deceived by hollow protestations of fidelity, and the semblance of enthusiasm in the people of Ioannina, Ali appears to have been lulled into a fatal security. Could he have depended upon his troops, indeed, his situation would have been by no means hopeless. All his fortresses, twenty-five in number, had been put into a state of complete defence, and he was amply supplied with warlike stores. But the beys and warlike chieftains of Albania who might yet have rallied round his standard, had been exterminated; and all faithful Moslems eagerly longed to be delivered from

* Chamberlain of the court, Sultan's executioner.

the infidel ; while the Greeks, who were for the most part little disposed to confide in his professions, were again looking to Russia for deliverance, and the despot of Epirus was the enemy of Russia. On former occasions, Ali had been able to play off the Greeks against the Moslems, and the Moslems against the Greeks ; and holding the scales between contending foreign factions, he had been indebted alternately, more perhaps than he was aware, to Russian, French, and English co-operation, in defeating his enemies. But alike selfish and faithless, he had betrayed all his allies by turns ; and left to himself, the colossus fell as by his own weight. The armatolis of Thessaly submitted to Mohammed Drama Pacha without a blow. Veli, at the approach of the Turkish army, abandoned Lepanto, and took the road to Ioannina, sending away his harem and all his moveables by sea to Prevesa. Avlona and Berat opened their gates to the Pacha of Scutari ; and when the Capudan bey, having seized the port of Panormo and the fortresses of Delvino and Butrinto, appeared before Parga, young Mchemet Pacha, Ali's grandson, embarking with about thirty followers in a felucca, surrendered at discretion. Finally, as soon as Pacho Bey had entered the defiles of Anovlachia, Omer Bey Brioni, Ali's seraskier and favoured general, together with his lieutenants, Mantho (who had been one of the Vizier's private secretaries) and Alexis Noutza, primate of Zagori, went over with their divisions, to the invading army. Thus Ali, who had reckoned upon 17,000 men, suddenly found himself without generals, and without an army.

Ali's means of defence, however, were still formidable, and he had prepared for the worst. His castle and vast fortress on the lake of Ioannina were fortified with 250 pieces of cannon, and by means of a small squadron of gun-boats, he still commanded the navigation of the lake.* Hither, there-

* It is singular enough that a city of the size and importance of Ioannina, the capital of this tyrant, should, with a single exception, have escaped the notice of modern travellers ; and yet, says Mr. Hobhouse, after Adrianople and Salonica, it is the most considerable place in European Turkey. It is perhaps doubtful when or by whom it was founded, but it was conquered by one of the generals of Amurath the Second, in 1424. We shall not attempt to give a history of its progress, even from that time, but only extract from Hobhouse's Albania, his description of it in 1809.

" This city," says he, " stands on the western bank of the lake, (Ioannina,) at about two miles from its northern extremity. In its utmost length it may be perhaps two miles and a half ; and in breadth.

fore, he now retreated with his remaining adherents, while Ioannina, after being pillaged, was set on fire in order to prevent its affording shelter to the enemy. The ruins of the capital were yet smoking, when Pacha Bey, on the 20th of August, made his public entry, and set up his three-tail standard as Pacha of Ioannina and Delvino. From the bastions of his castle, Ali might hear the acclamations of the Turks saluting his successor, and the *cadi* reading the sentence of deposition and anathema; a brisk fire from the guns and mortars of his fortress, was his comment upon the proceeding. Ali's garrison was about 8000 strong, all firmly attached to him; and the castle on the lake to which he had retired, was provisioned for four years. The Turkish army, on the contrary, had brought neither heavy artillery nor en-

though in some places it is much narrower, nearly a mile. Near the lake it stands on a flat, but the north, and north-western parts of it are built on slopes of rising and uneven ground. A triangular peninsula juts into the lake, and contains the residence of the Pacha, being defended by a fortification, and a tower at each angle. The entrance of this fortress is over a draw-bridge, and from this point runs one of the two principal streets, which is intersected by the other, running nearly the whole length of the city. The houses are many of them large and well built, containing a court-yard, and having warehouses or stables on the ground, with an open gallery, and the apartments of the family above. These houses have a gloomy aspect from the street, but from within, they are many of them very pleasant, being furnished in the rear with gardens, planted with orange and lemon trees. The Bazar, or principal street inhabited by the tradesmen, is well furnished, and has a showy appearance. The covered Bazar is of considerable size, and somewhat resembles Exeter-Change.

The lake is from ten to twelve miles in length, and at least three miles wide. On the one side it is enclosed by the city, a long succession of groves and verdant plains and gardens, and on the other by a chain of lofty mountains, that rise almost abruptly from its banks.

The Pacha had four places, one situated in the fortress, one in the suburbs of the city, which he occupied as a summer residence, and two others, allotted to his two sons. His summer residence is placed in the midst of a garden, abounding with every kind of tree and fruit, that flourishes in that warm and favoured climate. It is in the form of a pavilion, and has one large saloon, with small latticed apartments on every side. The floor, made of marble, has in the middle a little fortress, also of marble, the brass guns of which spout forth jets of water, on a given signal. At the same time a small organ turned by the water, and placed in the recess, plays some Italian airs. The shade of orange trees protects this charming spot from the heat of the sun; and here the Pacha, with the most favoured ladies of his harem, spent their time during the heats of the summer."

gineers for commencing the siege in form ; and their provisions had begun rapidly to diminish, exciting symptoms of discontent and even mutiny, before mortars and cannon arrived. The approach of winter rendered Ismael Pacha's situation still more critical. Already the early snows began to cover the summits of Pindus, and the different hordes of Macedonia and Thessaly had disbanded for the purpose of reaching their homes. Discontent soon found its way among the Albanian militia, unaccustomed to the tardy operations of a siege ; and dissensions broke out between the Moslems and the Christians. In order to procure fuel, the Turks were obliged to rummage among the ruins of the town ; provisions, too, had become scarce, as the convoys were generally attacked by the banditti headed by Odysseus, who, after a pretended desertion to Ismael, had disappeared, and collected a band of klephts or armatoles in the mountains. The total consumption of their harvests, and the devastation of their villages, made the inhabitants regret even the government of Ali. In the meantime, seditious movements in the northern provinces occasioned fresh alarms, and the Rume-lie-valisee, Achmet Pacha, received orders to quit Epirus for the banks of the Danube. More than 5000 bombs had already been thrown against the castles of Ali, without producing any considerable effect ; and the Sultan growing impatient addressed a *hatti shereef* to Ismael Pacha, blaming the inefficiency of his plans for reducing the rebel Vizier.

Ali, in the meantime, greater in adversity than he had ever shown himself in the day of his power, maintained an unshaken firmness and tranquillity, and set his enemies at defiance. He seemed, indeed, to have triumphed not only over his years, but over his passions. When informed that his sons Mouctar and Veli, who held the fortresses of Argyro-castro and Prevesa, had capitulated to his enemy, on the faith of the deceitful promises of the Porte,* he told his followers, that thenceforth the brave defenders of his cause were his only children and heirs. The aged Ibrahim Pacha and his son, he set at liberty to gratify his troops ; and when

* The proposals made, were, that Veli should be nominated Pacha of Acre, and Mouctar and Salik were to be appointed to *sanjakals*, in Anatolia. Both of them subsequently fell by the hand of a *capiji bashi*, on the very doubtful charge of holding a secret correspondence with their father.

they next demanded an advance of pay; he immediately raised it to about 4*l.* a month, saying, "I never haggle with my adopted children: they have shed their blood for me, and gold is nothing in comparison with their services." Having exact information as to the state of the besieging army, he insultingly sent Ismael Pacha some sugar and coffee, and even offered to sell him provisions. His communication with the interior was secured by the gun-boats which still commanded the lake; by this means he was able to obtain better intelligence than the seraskier himself, and to disperse his emissaries in all directions. So well did they execute their commission, that the Suliotes entered into the service of their ancient enemy, on condition of receiving 2000 purses, and being reinstated in their strong holds. Joining the *armatolis* under Odysseus, and 800 Zagorites under Alexis Noutza, (whose desertion seems also to have been a mere feint,) they gave a new character to the contest; and the winter of 1820 had hardly expired, when Ali found himself unexpectedly supported by a general insurrection of the Greeks. It is possible that he might even imagine himself to be the prime mover of a revolt to which he only furnished the stimulus of opportunity, and perhaps gave the signal; and he talked of planting the Greek standard upon the walls of Adrianople. If this was not mere bravado, the subsequent defeat of the insurgents, by Chourschid Pacha, must have convinced him that no Greek army was likely to come to his relief.

1821. Ismael Pacha had been superseded as seraskier by this general in the spring of 1821, but Chourschid's presence was soon required in other quarters, and it was not till November, that he re-appeared before Ioannina with a powerful reinforcement, and made preparations to carry the fortresses by storm. In the month of July, Ali's castle on the lake had taken fire from accident, and almost all his magazines had been destroyed. Owing, it may be presumed, to this disaster, he began to be straightened about December for necessaries. Disease and desertion had reduced his garrison to 600 men; and now his chief engineer, a Neapolitan adventurer, named Curetto, went over to the enemy, and perfidiously instructed the besiegers how to direct the fire of the batteries with the greatest effect. The island of the lake was taken towards the close of December, by a small flotilla which the Turks had at length fitted out. Treachery opened to Chourschid the gates of the fortress of Litaritza

soon after this; and "the Old Lion" was at length reduced to take refuge, with about sixty resolute adherents, in the citadel, to which he had previously transported provisions, all his remaining treasures, and a tremendous quantity of gunpowder. The sequel is as differently told as every other part of Ali's eventful story. The following account, given by Mr. Waddington, is stated to be derived from the official communication verbally made by the Reis Effendi to the first interpreter of the Britannic Embassy, for the information of his Excellency Lord Strangford.

"Chourschid Pacha, informed of this arrangement, sent his silikdar to Ali, to propose to him to surrender at discretion, to restore the part of the citadel which he possessed, and to consign his treasures to that officer; for such appeared, in the extremity to which he was reduced, to be the only rational determination which remained for him to adopt. He added, that he knew a report had been spread, that Ali had resolved, in case he should be thrown into despair, to set fire to the powder, and to blow up himself with his treasures and all those who surrounded him; but that this threat did not frighten him, and that if Ali did not decide immediately, he would come himself and apply the torch. Ali Pacha replied to the silikdar, that he was well assured that in his situation there was no other choice, and that he was determined to surrender as soon as he should be assured of his life.

"The silikdar undertook to carry his answer to his master; and returned soon afterwards to inform him, in the name of Chourschid Pacha, that the fulfilment of this request depended exclusively on the Sultan; that the Pacha would willingly give him his good offices with His Highness, but that he could not do it with any hope of success unless Ali should previously deliver up all he possessed; that he proposed to him consequently to effect the surrender of the fort, of the treasures, of the stores, &c. &c., and to retire and await the arrival of the resolution of the Sultan in the small island on the lake, near the citadel.

"Ali Pacha asked time at first to reflect on the decision which he should make; at last, after several conversations with the silikdar, he consented to leave the citadel, and he retired into the island with all his little troop, with the exception of one of his trusty friends, with whom he agreed on a signal which would instruct him whether he was to set fire to the powder, or give up all that was entrusted in his care to the officers of Chourschid Pacha.

"The silikdar received Ali Pacha in the island, at the head of an equal number of men with that which accompanied the Vizier; they paid him all the honour due to his rank; and after having been treated for several days by Chourschid Pacha with the greatest respect, Ali had confidence enough to order the surrender of all that he had left in the citadel. They immediately made haste to transport the powder into a place of safety.

"Directly afterwards, Ali Pacha requested that one of his officers who commanded a small party of a hundred men in the environs of Ioannina, might be permitted to join him in the island. Chourschid Pacha consented to this, but sent at the same time a detachment composed of an equal number of men, to keep Ali's troops in awe.

"Different Pachas of inferior rank had been several times to visit Ali. On the 5th of February, Mohammed Pacha, governor of the Morea, offered to procure for Ali every possible comfort, naming particularly provisions. Ali replied to this offer, that he desired nothing more than a supply of meat; he added, however, that he had still another wish, though his unwillingness to offend the scruples of religion forbade him to give utterance to it. Being pressed to name it, he owned that it was wine which he wished for, and Mohammed Pacha promised that he should receive it. The conversation continued for some time in the most friendly manner, till, at last, Mohammed Pacha rose to take leave. Being of the same rank, they rose at the same moment from the sofa, according to the usual ceremonies, and before leaving the room Mohammed Pacha bowed profoundly. Ali returned the compliment, but at the instant of his inclination, Mohammed executed the will of his sovereign, and put him to death by plunging a poignard in his left breast. He immediately quitted the apartment, and announced that Ali had ceased to exist. Some men of Mohammed's suit then entered, and divided the head from the body. The former having been shewn to the Sultan's troops as well as to those who had embraced the rebel's part, a strife followed, in which several men were killed. But the minds of the people were soon calmed, and all discord was appeased by shouts of "Long live Sultan Mahmoud and his Vizier Chourschid Pacha."*

*** M. Pouqueville must be allowed to kill Ali in his own way, and it will be confessed, he does it with more dramatic effect; but he omits**

Thus fell a man, who, for nearly sixty years, had braved every danger and dared every crime, and who, for half that period, had virtually ruled the greater part of Continental Greece and Epirus. With regard to his character, there cannot be two opinions : it was one of pure unsophisticated evil, with scarcely a redeeming quality ; one of those rank productions of the hot-bed of Turkish despotism which are

to mention his authorities. " It was five o'clock," says the Historian with his accustomed precision, " when the Vizier, who was sitting opposite to the entrance gate, saw arrive, with gloomy countenances, Hassan Pacha, Omer Briones, Mehemet, Chourschid's *selictar*, his *kafetanji*, several officers of the army, and a numerous suite. At their appearance, Ali arises with impetuosity, his hand on the pistols in his girdle. " Stop ! what do you bring me ?" he exclaims to Hassan, in a voice of thunder. " The will of his Highness ; do you know these august characters?" —showing him the brilliant gilded frontispiece which adorned the firman. " Yes ; I reverence it." " Well, then, submit to fate ; make your ablutions ; address your prayer to God and the Prophet ; your head is demanded by"—" My head," replied Ali, furiously interrupting him, " is not to be given up so easily." These words were no sooner uttered, than they were followed by a pistol shot, which wounded Hassan in the thigh. With the rapidity of lightning, Ali kills the *kafetanji*, and his guards firing at the same moment on the crowd, bring down several *tchoadars*. The terrified Ottomans flee from the pavilion. Ali perceives that he is bleeding : he is wounded in the breast. He roars like a bull. They fire from all parts on the kiosk, and four of his palikars fall at his side. He no longer knows where to make head. He hears the noise of assailants beneath his feet ; they fire through the wooden floor which he treads. He has just received a ball in his side ; another, firing upwards from below, hits him in the vertebral column ; he totters—catches at a window—falls on a sofa. " Run," he cries to one of his *tchoadars* ; " go, my friend, and despatch poor Visiliki" (his favourite wife,) " that the unhappy woman may not be outraged by these wretches." The door opens ; all resistance is at an end. The palikars, who have ceased to defend the tyrant, throw themselves from the windows. The *selictar* of Chourschid Pacha enters, followed by executioners. Ali was yet full of life. " Let the justice of God be accomplished," said a *cadi* ; and the executioners seizing, at these words, the criminal by the beard, drag him under the perystile ; there, placing his head on one of the stairs, they had to strike repeatedly with a notched cutlass before they could effect his decapitation." *Historie*, &c. tom. iii. p. 374—6. M. Pouqueville's sentimental reflections on the agonies which Ali is represented to have suffered, and on the warning which his fate reads to tyrants, we have not thought it necessary to give. If his authority may be relied on, the head of Ali preserved something so imposing and terrible, that the Turks could not help gazing on it with a sort of stupor ; Chourschid rose when it was brought him, bowed thrice, and kissed the beard of the deceased hero ; and the lamentations of the warlike Epirotes, were eloquent and unparalleled !

remarkable only for their enormous growth, not differing otherwise, in a moral point of view, from the vulgarest specimens. Ali, Tepeleni, Djezzar, Kutchuk Ali, Mohammed Ali, have all risen to power by the same profligate means ; and their biography consists of a repetition of the same crimes or intrigues. The horrible political system of which they were component parts, the government of which they were the legitimate and patronised depositaries and ministers, must be considered as, in fact, the parent of all the evil. Estimating Ali with a reference to the habits of his country, the system of his education, and the principles of his religion, comparing him with his predecessors and his rivals, there was nothing in his character out of nature, nothing enormous but his power. And if we consider the state of social disorder to which his strong government succeeded, the multitude of petty tyrants and brigands which he swept away to make room for the foundation of his empire, the number of smaller reptiles which this arch-serpent swallowed up, we shall be disposed to adopt Mr. Hughes' conclusion, that his government was on the whole a blessing to the inhabitants.

Nothing could be worse, that traveller remarks, than the implacable feuds between fierce and independent tribes, and the perpetual civil dissensions which desolated the western pashaliks prior to the consolidation of Ali's power ; and so lawless were the natives of the wild mountains, to such an extent did brigandage prevail, that agriculture was neglected, commerce languished, the very arts of civilization began to disappear, and the whole land presented one unvaried scene of poverty and wretchedness. But, under Ali, though all were subject to one mighty despot, no petty tyrants were permitted to exist, and protection was given equally to the Turk, and Greek, and the Albanian, against the aggressions of each other. Religious toleration was freely granted, and the regularity of monarchical power had in some measure succeeded to the factions of aristocracies and republics.—“ There exists at present,” says Mr. Hughes, in 1819, “ a security in these dominions, which we should seek for in vain elsewhere where the baneful influence of the Crescent extends. A police is organized, robbers are extirpated, roads and canals are made or repaired, rivers are rendered navigable, so that the merchant can now traverse the Albanian districts with safety, and the traveller with convenience.

Agriculture, in spite of all obstacles, improves ; commerce increases ; and the whole nation advances, perhaps unconsciously, towards higher destinies and great happiness.”*

The author and main spring of these improvements may have been licentious,—he was a Moslem ; cruel and pitiless—he was born and bred a brigand ; faithless and perfidious—he was a compound of Turk and Greek, and all mixed castes inherit the vices of both sides ; besides, he had Turks and Greeks to deal with. In a word, totally devoid of religion, he was restrained by no conscientious scruples, no moral principles. But he must be admitted to have possessed at least a capacity for greatness : and he deserves to rank in this respect, not with the Djezzars or Domitians of the earth, but with the Herods and the Napoleons.

1822. The fall of Ali† was the occasion of high satisfaction and triumph to the Porte. The exhibition of his head at the imperial gate in February, 1822, and the triumphal conveyance into the capital of part of his spoils, ex-

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 215. Some further anecdotes relating to Ali Pacha's personal character and habits will be given in the description of Ioannina. It is in a political point of view, chiefly, that the historian has to contemplate him.

† Mr. Hobhouse, who visited the Pacha of Ioannina in his own palace, gives the following description of what he saw there.

After being conducted through a gallery crowded with soldiers, and through several rooms of a mean appearance, he was ushered into the apartment of Ali. He was standing to receive his guests,* but as they advanced, seated himself, and desired them to do the same. His room was large, handsomely furnished in the Turkish style, and contained a marble fountain in the middle.

The Pacha was a short man, about five feet five inches high, thick set, and very fat. He had a pleasing face, fair and round, with blue, quick eyes, and not at all settled into the usual gravity so universal among the Turks. His beard was long and white, and such an one as any other Turk would have been proud of ; though he, who was more taken up with his guests than himself, did not, as is customary among his countrymen, continue stroking and looking at it, to fill up the intervals of conversation. He wore a high turban, composed of many small rolls, apparently made of fine gold muslin, and his ataghan, or long dagger, was studded with brilliants. Instead of having his room crowded with the officers of his court, as is customary with the Pachas, and other great men, he was attended by only four or five young men, very magnificently dressed in the Albanian costume. These brought in refreshments, consisting, as usual, of coffee, sweetmeats, and pipes.

* Lord Byron accompanied Mr. Hobhouse in this journey, and probably was present on this occasion.

cited a high degree of popular enthusiasm at this critical moment. Only a small part of the Pacha's gold, however, found its way into the imperial treasury ; and the Porte gained but little in the substitution of one Albanian for another in the government of Epirus, when it bestowed on Omer Vrionis the pashalik of Ioannina and Arta, as the reward of his treachery. "Ali Pacha," remarks Mr. Leake, "may have thwarted the execution of all the measures of the Porte, which tended to reduce his authority, and, in general, those which did not originate with himself; he may have transmitted a larger sum to Constantinople in the shape of presents to persons in power, than in that of tribute to the imperial treasury ; and in the latter respect, he may never have sent as much as would satisfy the wishes of government ; nevertheless, it is probable, that the Porte, during his reign, was more truly master of Greece than it had ever been before, and that it derived, upon the whole, as much revenue from the country ; while it is certain, that, by leaving Ali to oppose the armed Greeks to one another, and to suppress the spirit of revolt by the military strength of Albania, she most effectually secured herself against the consequences of foreign intrigues among the Christian subjects of European Turkey ;—that concentration of power in Ali's hands, was the best protection which the empire could possess, on a frontier where it was (at one time) endangered by the increase of the power of France, not less than the north-eastern side was menaced by the encroachments of Russia. Affairs, in fact, became less favourable to the future influence of the Porte over Albania, after his fall, than they had been under Ali, or than they would have been under the government of his sons.*

* Outline, p. 34—62.

CHAPTER XI.

Hetaria, the objects of this Association.—The oath and catechism of the Hetaarists.—Riga, his patriotism, character, and death.—Count Capo d'Istria.—Czerni George, and Galati, determine to begin the Revolution.—Death of George.—Death of Galati.—Michael Suzzo.—Alexander Ipsilanti and Prince Cantacuzene.—Plan to commence the Revolution.—Revolt of the Moldavians under Suzzo and Ipsilanti.—They take possession of Bucharest.—Black uniform of the Hetaarists.—Hazardous condition of Ipsilanti and his army.—Russian Manifesto.—Ipsilanti proclaimed a rebel.—Suzzo retires.—Defection of Vlademiresco and his execution.—Turks take the field.—Ipsilanti returns from Bucharest, which city is taken by the Turks.—Plan of an intended Revolt at Constantinople, discovered.—The Turks commit the most horrid barbarities.—Ipsilanti defeated on the Oltau.—Heroism of the Sacred band.—They most of them fall.—Ipsilanti retires towards the Morea.—His arrest and confinement.

THAT the reader may understand the exciting cause of the present struggle in Greece, we must now go back to about the year 1814, when that celebrated association called the *Hetaria** was founded.

The object of the Hetaria, or Society of Friends, undoubtedly was the emancipation of Greece. Its head quarters were established at St. Petersburg, and nearly all the Greeks in Europe hastened to join it. An active correspondence was carried on between the agents appointed by the society; and men of the highest standing in Greece visited Petersburg under the pretext of commercial speculations, but really with a view to promote the objects of the association. This society, formed in imitation of the secret associations of Germany and France, carried on their correspondence by means of emblems and signs. It was divided into three classes of members, viz. *chiefs*, *coadjutors*, and *priests*. Each class had distinct signs, and cyphers, and like the Free Masons, understood each other by the position of the hands or

* From the Greek, signifying Society.

fingers in their salutations. The three classes, also had certain means of communication intelligible to all. The facility of admitting members was the means of rendering their numbers very great, for any member with the knowledge and consent of a single additional brother, had a right to admit the candidate. The requisite qualifications were, that he should be a true Greek, a zealous lover of his country, a good and virtuous man ; and that he should not be a member of any other secret society. By the form of the oath of admission, they bound themselves to devote their lives and fortunes to the liberation of their country.*

With regard to the persons who originated this society, or the authors of the oath and catechism, we have at the present time no certain knowledge.† By the *catechism* is under-

* Mr. Waddington, from a Romaic document, gives the following account of the objects of the Hetaria, their oath, &c.

“ The Hetaria consists of native Greeks, patriots, and is named the Society of the Friendly. Their object is the purification of this nation, and, with the aid of heaven, their independence.” The principal oath, or form of adjuration, contained the following clauses: “ In the presence of the true God, spontaneously I swear, that I will be faithful to the Hetaria in all, and through all; I will never betray the slightest portion of its acts or words ; nor will I ever in any manner give even my relatives or friends to understand that I am acquainted with them. I swear, that henceforward I will not enter into any other society, or into any bond of obligation ; but whatever bond, or whatever I may possess in the world, when compared with the Hetaria, I will hold as nothing. I swear, that I will nourish in my heart irreconcilable hatred against the tyrants of my country, their followers and favourers ; and I will exert every method for their injury and destruction.” [Then, after two or three clauses, binding the members to acts of friendship and mutual assistance, and referring to the introduction of others into the society, it proceeds.] “ I swear, that I will ever so regulate my conduct, that I may be a virtuous man ; I will incline with piety towards my own form of worship, without disrespectfully regarding those of foreigners ; I will ever present a good example ; I will aid, counsel, and support the sick, the unfortunate, and the feeble ; I will reverence the government, the tribunals, and the ministers of the country in which I may be residing. Last of all, I swear by thee, my sacred and suffering country, —I swear by the long-endured tortures,—I swear by the bitter tears which for so many centuries have been shed by thy unhappy children, —I swear by the future liberty of my countrymen,—that I consecrate myself wholly to thee ; that henceforth thou shalt be the scope of my thoughts, thy name the guide of my actions, thy happiness the recompense of my labours.”

† Mr. Blaquiere says, “ it has been confidently asserted that the original idea of forming secret societies in Greece, is due to the Empress Catharine ; at all events, there is no doubt of her agents having pre-

thus deprived of his coadjutor, and having no authority among the Servians, on whom they depended to begin the revolution, retired to Bucharest, where he soon afterwards died.

These circumstances, for a time, postponed the attempts of the Hetarists, but did not dishearten them. Determined in the next attempt not to begin until every part of their plans had been more completely matured, they fixed on the year 1825 for the execution of the great enterprise, thus giving ample time for every arrangement.

In the meantime, Michael Suzzo, or Sutzo, was appointed by the Porte, Viceroy [Hospodar] of Moldavia. He was a young Greek of accomplished manners and insinuating address, and, being naturally ardent and ambitious, he listened with attention to the suggestions of the Hetarists, and warmly espoused their cause.

Another person, who appeared about the same time, and on whom great reliance was placed, was Alexander Ipsilanti, a prince by birth, a Major-General in the Russian service, and son of the late governor of Walachia. He had embraced the military profession in his youth, had served in the campaigns of 1812 with distinction, and was aid-de-camp to the Emperor at the time when the Hetarists called on him to assist in the emancipation of his country.

With Ipsilanti and Suzzo, was associated Prince Catacu-

was living a quiet life with the rank of Russian Lieutenant-General, decorated with the order of St. Andrew, and enjoying a very liberal pension from the court of St. Petersburg. No man appeared, to the concerters of the plot, more fit for so difficult and important an undertaking as that of raising the standard of revolt against the Turks. Overtures were made to him, and an understanding took place between the parties. It was understood that Czerni George, after sounding and finding favourable the dispositions of the Servians, should suddenly appear among them, call them up to arms, seize upon the fortified places occupied by a few unsuspecting Turks, and place the Province in such a menacing attitude as was likely to engross the attention of the Turkish government, and attract its principal forces. It was calculated that the Servians, to the number of 40,000, would join the standard of their old leader, in which case they could, for a considerable time at least, set at defiance the Turkish army. Meantime, the Greeks throughout the provinces, it was expected, would rise on all sides, and so perplex the Turks, as to compel them to divide their means, and ultimately, it was hoped, they would be overpowered by numbers, and driven from Europe. But this plan, as we have already seen, was entirely defeated by the death of the principal actor, Czerni George.

Zane, a man not less celebrated than his coadjutors as a military chieftain. He was descended from an illustrious Greek family, and though superior in rank and age to Ipsilanti, he generously volunteered to serve under him. These accomplished soldiers, with the assistance of other Heterists, laid down the plan of the approaching campaign.

In the first place they entertained no doubt of the speedy reduction of the northern Turkish principalities, since Suzzo, Governor of Moldavia, engaged to declare himself openly at the proper time, and the Servians, though they had lost their leader in the death of Czerni George, were still in a state of revolt, and of course, expected to rise and join in the contest. Ipsilanti was to assume the offensive beyond the Danube, while a spirited proclamation should summon the whole of Greece to arms, from Ossa to Tonarus. A formidable conspiracy was at the same time set on foot at Constantinople, the explosion of which it was calculated would shake the Ottoman empire to its very foundation; and it was hoped that certain circumstances connected with this plan would lead to a rupture between Turkey and the great northern Potentate, from which source the patriots still confidently expected assistance.

All parts of this enterprise were undoubtedly well concerted, and, had each been carried into full execution, it would probably have been crowned with the highest success; but unforeseen difficulties and disappointments entirely frustrated the plans and present hopes of this band of patriots. Ipsilanti, owing to peculiar circumstances, was obliged to cross the Pruth and begin his operations sooner than was expected. The minds of the Moldavians were not prepared for so sudden an appearance, and symptoms of resistance were at first manifested; but on the declaration of Prince Suzzo, that he fully participated in the measures of Ipsilanti, instead of resistance they joined the standard of revolt, and threw off all allegiance to the Porte. Ipsilanti now published an energetic proclamation, addressed to his countrymen, calling upon them to shake off the Turkish yoke, to follow the standard of the cross, and to join him in the great, and glorious project of liberating Greece.* This document also contained an assurance, that a great power (meaning Russia) was ready to punish the infidels for their frequent breaches of faith, cruelty, and arrogance.

* Blaquiere, vol. 1. p. 62.

The uniform of the Hetarists was entirely black, in sign of mourning for their afflicted country, and on their banners was planted a phoenix rising from its ashes, being the emblem of regeneration.* The Moldavians were greatly excited by the proclamation and these appearances, and some young men offered their persons and fortunes for the benefit of the cause, while recruits came in from all quarters.

Having obtained possession of Moldavia, the Hetarists marched towards Bucharest, the capital of Walachia, a city in part fortified, and containing about 80,000 inhabitants. The governor, on the approach of the insurgent army, absconded in the night, and the city was thrown into a state of the greatest consternation and confusion. The patriots, however, after doing all in their power to restore order and calm the fears of the citizens, took possession of the city.

It was now, says Mr. Blaquiere, that Prince Ipsilanti began to feel all the difficulties of his situation. He was indeed master of Moldavia and Walachia, but so far from being able to advance, it plainly appeared that he had little chance of being allowed to maintain his position at Bucharest. But the most fatal blow to his hopes came from a quarter the least expected, and indeed from which he calculated even direct assistance. As so unequivocally insinuated in his proclamation, Ipsilanti had, it seems, no doubt but his rising would be followed by the declaration of the Russian government in his favour, and the flattering reception he received by the Moldavians, after the declaration of Suzzo, was indeed owing to this opinion; for like the rest of Europe, the people believed that Ipsilanti would not have embarked in so perilous an enterprise without the promise and assurance of some foreign aid. But the illusion was soon dissipated, and while the Russian Ambassador at the Porte received daily insults as being accessory to the revolt, his master at home was preparing a manifesto, in which Ipsilanti was published as a rebel and incendiary, and his conduct formally disapproved.

The publication of the manifesto fell like a thunderbolt on the Hetarists and their associates. The enthusiasts became cool, and the wavering loudly condemned the measures of the patriots, while Suzzo gave up his command in Moldavia and retired with his family beyond the Pruth. At Constan

* Blaquiere, vol. 1. p. 62.

tinopia, the prospect was not less discouraging, the plot for effecting the revolution being entirely frustrated.*

In addition to these disastrous events, it was suspected that Vladimiresco, a chieftain who had joined Ipsilanti with a considerable number of troops, was engaged in a traitorous correspondence with the Turks. The Prince, in consequence, had him arrested and tried by a military court; when it was found, that for the consideration of being made Hospodar, he had agreed to betray his associates into the hands of the infidels. He was condemned to death and immediate execution.

The situation of Ipsilanti now became disagreeable and hazardous. He was still at Bucharest, and before the defection of Vladimiresco, was desirous to hazard a battle for its defence. The Turks had taken the field, and were approaching that place, and Ipsilanti, therefore, thought it most prudent to abandon it, and retreat to Tergovist. This retreat was not effected without precipitation and consequent disorder. The Turks soon after entered the city with an army of 10,000 men, without firing a shot. On their way to this place, they had committed the most horrid barbarities. The Hetarists, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, were empaled alive, and numbers of little children were hung up by the feet along the public roads.†

1821. The Prince did not reach Tergovist before he found that the Turkish army was in pursuit, and hav-

* Mr. Blaquiere says, that the object of this extensive and deep-laid plot, was to arm the Greeks, who formed a numerous portion of the working and operative classes in the capital, to fire the Arsenal, and seize the person of the Sultan as he went to his devotions. Every thing was prepared, and the plan might have succeeded, had it not been for a certain merchant, one of the principal conspirators. He having some goods on hand, which he wished to dispose of before the explosion took place, had the time of rising postponed, and during the interval a discovery took place.

† In addition to the terrific atrocities, several Monasteries, in which the inhabitants took refuge, were entered, and every soul butchered. Some idea may be formed of the scenes which marked the paths of the Turks, when it is added, that in one Monastery alone they destroyed three hundred women and children. Among these wretched victims was the wife of Major Rhote, and her seven children.

A person named Udricky, attached to the Austrian consulate, is said to have been the principal cause of these calamities. He constantly assured the peaceable inhabitants that they had nothing to fear from the Turks, and thus lulled them into a fatal security, until it was too late for them to escape.—See Blaquiere.

ing called a council of war, it was determined to risk a battle. As a preparatory measure, he crossed the river Oltau, and took his position at the monastery of Dragachan, within a few miles of Rimnik, in Walachia. Ipsilanti having made the necessary disposition of his troops, the battle commenced in the morning of the 17th of June. The Turkish infantry rushed forward with loud shouts, but were repulsed with the point of the bayonet. A second charge was repelled with equal intrepidity. But at this moment the fate of the patriot army was decided by the cowardice and treason of Caravia, an officer of the cavalry, who turned suddenly round and fled, followed by his men. The corps of Nicholas Ipsilanti, brother to the Prince, followed the example of the fugitives in spite of his authority, and thus the whole army was thrown into the utmost confusion. The panic soon became so universal that almost all the troops recrossed the Oltau, nor could all the efforts of bravery on the part of the Prince, prevent a retreat so shameful and cowardly. Honourable exceptions to this conduct were, however, displayed in the heroism of the chieftain Giorgaki and his corps, and in the devoted bravery of the *Sacred Band*. Giorgaki, during the rout, fell suddenly on a Turkish corps, killed great numbers, dispersed the remainder, and retook from them several pieces of cannon. The Sacred Band was a battalion of young Greeks, educated in Europe, and for the most part students or merchants' clerks, who had repaired to the standard of Ipsilanti, from Russia and Germany. They wore a uniform of black, as an emblem of mourning for the sufferings of their country, to whose service they had devoted their fortunes and lives. Their zeal, patriotism, and union, obtained for them the above appellation.

These young men, animated by the spirit which taught their ancestors to perish at Thermopylæ, preferred a glorious death to flight or dishonour. They scorned to turn their backs on their ferocious and blood-thirsty enemies, and while the main part of the army crossed the Oltau, they alone stood firm. But their numbers, amounting to only four or five hundred, exposed in an open plain to the attack of fifteen hundred Turkish cavalry, was too small to effect the fate of the day. Each one, however, sold his life dearly as possible, and the contest ended in the fall of nearly four hundred Greek youth, at once the flower and hope of their country. "The heroism displayed on this occasion," says Mr. Blaquiere, "will bear an advantageous comparison with the

best days of Grecian history, and is by far the most brilliant trait in the contest. As an example of true patriotism, it has had a most salutary effect on the people of Greece."

Prince Ipsilanti* was now without an army, and bereft of all hope; he therefore proceeded to Trieste, with the intention of joining his countrymen in the Morea, where the patriot banner was already displayed; but a mandate from the Austrian Cabinet arrested him on his way, and ordered his imprisonment in the Castle of Mongatz in Hungary. On what pretext of justice this unfortunate patriot has been thus incarcerated does not appear. He is neither a subject of Austria, nor has he taken arms against any state under the protection of that power. Some have suspected that the pleasure of the Ottoman Court was the cause of his arrest; while others suppose him to have been the depository of some state secret, the disclosure of which his freedom would endanger. "With respect to the origin of Ipsilanti's enterprise, it is still involved in considerable mystery. Whatever part the agents of the Russian Cabinet may have had in stimulating this officer to come forward, no person who had watched the uniform policy of Russia, could feel the smallest surprise at the Emperor's disapproval of any participation in his proceedings. If he took the field without any other assurances of support, except what could be derived from four or five hundred followers, against whom an overwhelming force could at any time be sent, Ipsilanti must have added madness to folly, but there is nothing connected either with his public or private character, to justify such an imputation."†

* The character of the Prince, as drawn by M. Pouqueville is not calculated to elevate our ideas of a Russian Major General.

Destitute of talent, says he, but educated by preceptors, who had taught him to speak correctly several languages,—he was learned without possessing that masculine knowledge which is the result of well directed study; a poet without inspiration; amiable without urbanity; a soldier without being warlike, although he had lost his right arm at the battle of Culm. But what especially characterised Alexander Ipsilanti, was the vanity common to the Phanariots, their spirit of intrigue, the ambitious end of which terminated in his becoming Hospodar of the brutish nations of ancient Dacia, and a feebleness of character which shewed itself in his suffering himself to be ruled by persons unworthy of his confidence. To what person the biographer here alludes, he does not explain; nor do we know in this instance how far the prejudices of M. Pouqueville has led him astray in the drawing of his picture.

† See Blaquiere, vol. 1. p. 77.

CHAPTER XII.

Sultan orders all Greeks to be disarmed.—The Archbishop Gregory hanged, with several other Ecclesiastics.—Indignation of the Greeks.—Emissaries called Apostles.—Revolution expected at Patras.—Order for disarming resisted.—Revolt begins at Suda, and then at Patras.—Greeks and Turks plunder each other.—Turks shut themselves up in a Fortress.—Want of skill in the art of War among the Turks.—Greek with the White Flag, shot, on coming to town.—Insurrection in the Morea.—Hydra, Ipsara, and Spezzia, join in the common cause.—Turks obliged to retire to the strong places.—List of officers in the Morea.—Mavromicali's manifesto.—Arrival of Isouf Pacha, and relief of the Turks in the Fortress.—Greeks evacuate Patras.—Burning of the town.—Horrid scene.—Attack and reduction of the Lalliot.

1821. No sooner did the news of the insurrection at Moldavia and Wallachia reach the Porte, than the Sultan sent off orders to all his Pachas to disarm the Greek population throughout his dominions, and at the same instant the signal for a war of extermination was given at the capital. On the 22d of April, being Easter day, on which is held the greatest festival of the Greek church, the Patriarch, Gregorius, appointed and acknowledged by the Porte, and who had recently issued his anathemas against the insurgents, was seized and hanged in front of the church from which he was just retiring.* His body, to increase the ig-

* Mr. Blaquiere says, that the Patriarch, whether considered in his capacity of head of the church, or as a man of the most exemplary virtue and unaffected piety, it would perhaps be impossible to name any victim that has fallen since the introduction of christianity, more entitled to the honours of martyrdom. How melancholy to reflect, that it is only by such sacrifices, mankind have hitherto been able to acquire religious and political freedom.

Gregorius was a native of Calavrita, and had made repeated efforts to retire to the place of his birth, but was always brought back by the orders of the Sultan, to whom he had rendered some very eminent services. He had passed his 70th year when the murder was perpetrated, and no patriarch was ever held in higher estimation by the Greek people.

nominy of this savage murder, was given to the Jews, to be dragged through the streets as a spectacle and warning to his terrified brethren. This murder was accompanied or speedily followed by that of several other ecclesiastics of the highest dignity in the capital and other parts of the Empire, as well as by that of several other Greeks of every class. The motives for these atrocious proceedings, were probably the hope of terrifying the Greeks into submission ; but they excited more indignation than terror, and only tended to make the insurrection more universal. The destruction of several Greek churches, heightened the exasperation of the Christians, and a general conviction prevailed that these proceedings were but a prelude to an intended extermination of the whole nation. The priesthood of the islands of the Morea, thinking themselves to be peculiarly marked out for destruction, did not hesitate to increase the ferment by their spiritual influence, and to inspire the rebellion with all the energy and malignity of religious warfare. Hence, neither the reverses of Moldavia, and the overthrow of Ipsilanti, nor the failure of the conspiracy at Constantinople, prevented the resistance of the Greeks, who constantly expected that there would be war between Russia and the Porte, and that thus the power and attention of the Turks would be divided.*

Added to these feelings and expectations, were those of indignation and horror, at the slaughter which the Turks had begun in the various provinces and islands, as well as in Constantinople. In many places indeed, the Greeks were under the fullest conviction that it had been determined at the Porte to exterminate their entire race, and hence preparations were made to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

Another circumstance which tended to add enthusiasm to the passions already existed, was the harangues of emissaries, called by their employers, Apostles. These men were known to the people under the denomination of philosophers, and began their work just before the revolt of Moldavia. They were sent, it is said, from Russia, to stir up the people of Greece, and it is probable they were intrusted with some of the secrets of the Hetari. They were in the highest degree enthusiastic, and circulated reports that the Sultan had declared his resolution to transport all the Greeks into Asia Minor, and to establish Turkish colonies, drawn from that portion of his empire, in their places ; that Prince Ipsilanti

was under the patronage and pay of Russia, and that he was marching with a large force upon Constantinople, &c. These orators occasionally pretended to select for their models, some one of their ancient brethren and countrymen, and would mount the rostrum in an open space, and harangue the people on the duties they owed their country and kindred, and on the means of protecting themselves and their children from the barbarities of their oppressors. These preachers produced considerable effect, particularly on the middling and lower class, who, not waiting to inquire into the truth of what they heard, prepared themselves at once to march towards the field of battle.

1821. About the first of April the excitement became general, and a mutual distrust was apparent between the Greeks and Turks every where. The inhabitants of Patras had become particularly disaffected on account of the heavy levies made upon them by the Turkish government, for the purchase of supplies for the army in Albania, which was acting against Ali Bey. Open hostilities had not yet begun, but both Greeks and Turks saw that a revolution was on the point of commencing. The Greeks at Patras, shipped off, or secreted their property, and the Turks who inhabited the town, began to prepare for their defence, by repairing the fortress, into which many of them transported their families. The Ionians residing in the city also became alarmed, and sent their families off to the islands.*

In this state of things, the inhabitants of Suda, a large village near Calavrita, in the northern part of Arcadia, were the first to take the field. In order to conceal their design for a short period, they gave out that they intended to plunder travellers in the mountains, well knowing that the Turks are seldom in haste to suppress such excesses.

At Patras, the order for disarming the Greeks was attempted to be enforced, but they flatly refused to deliver up their arms; on which the Turks turning the cannon of the fortress against the town, soon took possession of it. Meanwhile, Germanos, Archbishop of Patras, retired to Calavrita, where he assembled an army of nearly four thousand peasants. At their head he entered the city, and took it from the Turks, who were obliged to shut themselves up in the citadel. On the 4th of April, the Turks set fire to one of the Greek Primate's houses. This was a signal for attack; and

* Green's Sketches of the War in Greece, p. 10 12.

~~a~~ brisk fire of musketry took place between the Turks and Greeks in the streets of the city. The Turks now opened a fire from a fortress, probably for the purpose of preventing the people from extinguishing the conflagration, which in a short time spread over a considerable portion of the city, and in twelve hours upwards of three hundred houses were destroyed.

While the town was burning, both parties were pillaging each other without reserve, and in some instances the Greeks even robbed those of their own nation.

At the very commencement of the insurrection, says Mr. Green, a Patracine Greek, who inhabited and owned the house adjoining my own, determined on quitting the place, and requested I would take charge of the key of his house, in which was deposited a great part of his property, and further intreated me to protect it until he should be able to return in safety. Shortly after the entry of the insurgents, one of the leaders, whose residence likewise adjoined mine, but on the other side, paid me a visit, and in the name of the Greek chiefs demanded the key of his neighbour's house, which he had learnt was in my possession. Although I of course refused to comply with so unjust a demand, the Greek still persisted, and at length told me to my face, that if I retained the key, he should force the doors open. I cannot deny that I was exceedingly irritated at such unlooked-for and insolent conduct; however, I thought it prudent merely to request the Greek to quit my house; observing to him, that a few days previous he probably would not have made use of such an argument. Determined to protect the property entrusted to my care, I forthwith sent to the Archbishop and Primate, informing them of what had passed, when they assured me that it was without their knowledge, and that the house should be respected. Two days after this declaration, it was forced open, pillaged, occupied, and converted into a manufactory of ball cartridges.

The state of Patras at this period, cannot be better described than in the language of Mr. R. L. Green,* from whom we borrow the following account:

“The moment of the breaking out of the revolution in Greece, was a most interesting one. For some weeks pre-

* Sketches of the war in Greece, by Philip James Green, late British Consul for the Morea, with notes by R. L. Green, Vice-Consul.

vious to the affair of Calavrita, great distrust and jealousy prevailed between the Greeks and Turks. The latter were evidently making preparations for repairing and provisioning their old and neglected fortresses, and the task of putting them into good order had commenced. There was no longer that supineness, that absolute security, which had hitherto marked the Turkish government. The inhabitants of the towns and villages began to look at each other with suspicion, and the Greek was bold and gibing, in his bearing towards his Turkish neighbour. He first insulted him in the streets of Patras, and then, contrary to the known regulations, appeared with arms. The Turk, on the other hand, instead of coming out merely with his pistols in his girdle, rarely stirred abroad without gun and sword. And yet, in spite of this state of feeling, in spite of the great disproportion in numbers between the two classes, the Turks forced the Greeks to drag up new ordnance from the sea-shore, and such is the force of habit, absolutely to plant it in the very fortress which was shortly to be attacked by them.

“As soon as an open rupture had taken place, the mode of warfare between these two semi-barbarous people was strikingly characteristic.

“The Greeks at first had no cannon, but at length they procured some four and six pounders from an Ionian vessel that was lying off Patras, and transported them to a house which was within one hundred and twenty feet of the wall of the castle. They then erected a battery within the house itself, and when they were prepared they unmasked it by suddenly pulling down the wall which intervened between them and the castle, and instantly commenced a vigorous attack. Had these little guns been directed even to the most tottering part of the fortress, they would scarcely have moved a stone; but here, unfortunately, their battery was directly opposed to a portion of the wall which the Turks had just repaired from the damage done by lightning. The consequence, as may easily be conceived, was, that their time, trouble, and shot, were absolutely thrown away. However, they persevered, and several Greeks were killed. At last, a Turk seeing one man very busily employed at the guns, took deliberate aim from the embrasures, and shot him in the head as he was in the act of stooping to load. This poor fellow happened to be an Italian, and probably therefore was more expert at gunnery than the Greeks. The latter no

sooner found their loss than they quitted their battery in despair.

“The Turks, on the other hand, were not a whit more skilled than their enemies. In the first place, being merely the inhabitants of a town, and having no soldiers to instruct them, for there was only a nominal garrison at Patras, not a soul knew the management of a gun;—and in the second, had they possessed the requisite knowledge, the whole of the ordnance, with the exception of the new guns, just received, was in such a miserable state, that nothing effectual could have been done. Many of the cannon were without carriages, and being of enormous weight, could only be moved with the greatest difficulty. The Turks might be seen hoisting and propping them up with levers of wood, and then firing in any, or rather in no direction. The Greeks in the meanwhile, occupied houses close to the castle, and kept up a brisk fire of musketry; others, however, who were not quite so brave, used to make a noise at a ridiculous distance, and expend their courage and powder most vigorously. Those within the houses usually tried to pick off the Turks employed at the cannon, and this they might do with perfect safety to themselves, for it was quite clear, that there was no gunner among them who even hit a house by aiming at it. The Turks, therefore, were obliged to screen themselves when loading their guns, by stopping up the embrasures with mattresses and boards, and when they were ready to fire, these were withdrawn.

“Clusters of Greeks, who were chattering away in the vine-yards, would be on the look-out, and as soon as they marked the spot where the ball fell, they ran towards it and picked it up, carrying it to their magazine. If, as it often happened, a six pound shot had been discharged by the consummate skill of the Turks out of a twenty-four pounder, the Greeks used to load their small cannon with it, and send it back again.

“Thus there was a constant noise with little execution. In spite of all their practice, there was nobody among the Turks that acquired any skill in gunnery, with the exception however, of one man, a barber. His skill, nevertheless, was limited, for he could only fire from his own cannon, but that to be sure, happened to be mounted. Among the earliest and most memorable of his feats, was the following. When Patras was attacked, the Greeks used to come from the neighbourhood to assist their brethren in the town. One

fine day, a reinforcement of these, coming from Gastouni, were observed from the castle, just appearing on the brow of a hill. In the midst of the troop was an unfortunate fellow mounted on a white horse, and he by way of eclat, was carrying and flourishing a white flag. The Turkish grandees who were besieged, were in the habit of offering money to their gunners if they hit any object pointed out to them; and one of them told the barber, that he would give him a machmoudie if he would bring the man on the white horse down. The barber pointed his gun, and neither flag, horse, nor man were ever after heard of. The next feat which the redoubtable barber accomplished was this. The houses in Patras are built of mud and straw, made into a sort of bricks. This is done for the sake of economy, as the soil thrown up in digging the foundation not only serves as material for the walls, but as earthquakes are frequent, damages are thus easily and speedily repaired. One of these houses, situated just under the walls of the fortress, was occupied by the Greeks, and became from its proximity a source of great annoyance to the besieged. Whenever a Turk appeared, half a dozen bullets whizzed about his head, while the Greeks remained in perfect security. This went on for a long time; the guns of the fortress had been directed in vain upon it, and each man had tried his luck in hitting it but all to no purpose. At last the barber desired to essay his skill: the first shot he fired took effect, and in a moment a score of Greeks were seen issuing from a cloud of dust, some scampering, others crawling off most nimbly on their bellies among the vines, and no one, I believe, ever ventured there again."

While these things were taking place at Patras, the insurrection became general throughout the Morea, and several of the islands being prepared for such news, on hearing what was transacting on the continent, instantly threw off all restraint and joined in the general cause.

Among the islands, the most conspicuous for patriotism and promptness were Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara. The enterprising and industrious inhabitants of these islands immediately prepared a naval armament, by turning their merchant vessels into men of war. Their united force amounted to eighty or ninety vessels averaging 250 tons each, and carrying on an average 12 guns. Besides these, fifty or sixty smaller ones were supplied by the other islands. In the latter end of May, the inferiority of Turkish marine in skill and

enterprise, to that of the Greeks, was shown in the loss of one of their two-decked ships of war, which having been separated from the fleet, near Lesbos, was burned by a Hydriot fire-ship.

Soon after midsummer, not only in the Morea, but throughout a great part of northern Greece, as far as Salonica, the Turks had retired into the fortified towns, and strong places, all the mountains and open country being either in the hands of the Greeks, or subject to their incursions. Agents had been sent to Europe for the purchase of arms and ammunition. Many volunteers, Franks* as well as Greeks, had arrived in the Morea, and many generous contributions of money and stores had been received both from foreigners and from opulent Greek merchants settled in different European sea-ports.

The native Greeks who took the lead in the Morea, were Petros Bey, better known by the name of Mavromicali, who had been some time before nominated by the Sultan, Bey of Maina, Constantine Colocotroni, who like his father had long been a *capitanos* of *armatoli*† in the Morea, and had held commissions both in the Russian and English service, Demetrius Ipsilanti, a younger brother of the Prince Alexander, who like him had been an officer in the Russian service. He bore a commission from the Prince, appointing him general-in-chief of all the military forces in Greece. He was received by the Hydriots with discharges of cannon and other demonstrations of joy. Among his followers came a younger brother of Prince Cantacuzene, and an individual named Condiotti, who had served as *valet-de-chambre* to Count Capo d'Istria. There also arrived in the month of August, Prince Mavrocordato, a distinguished Greek, whose talents and character procured him great authority among all classes.

On the commencement of the revolution, Mavromicali addressed a manifesto to the European courts, through their Consuls, residing in Greece, stating that the tyranny of the

* By Franks, is meant not only Frenchmen, but I believe any white foreigner from Europe or America, with the exception of Russians.

† The *armatoli* were a kind of militia appointed by the Turks, whose duty it was to keep the roads clear of robbers, and guard the mountain passes.

Turks had forced the Greeks to take up arms, and soliciting assistance from the several European governments.*

A council for the direction of affairs was also formed at Patras, consisting of several Primates, Mavromicali, and a number of rich and influential Greeks. Meanwhile, the Turks were closely besieged in the citadel, and had begun to suffer for want of water and provisions, while the Greeks were making every effort to compass their destruction. They had nearly completed a mine with which in a short time to blow up the place.

* The following is a translation of that instrument from Modern Greek.—See *Green's Sketches*, p. 272.

MANIFESTO.

To the European Courts, on the part of the Patriot Commander of the Spartan and Messinian forces.

The intolerable yoke of Ottoman oppression, after a period of above a century, had reached that height, that nothing remained to the unhappy Greeks of the Peloponnesus, but the liberty of breathing, and this served only to force out their sighs from the bottom of their hearts.

Reduced to a condition so pitiable, deprived of every right, we have, with an unanimous voice, resolved to take up arms, and struggle against the tyrants. *All factions and discords amongst ourselves, sown by tyranny, are sunk in the abyss of eternal oblivion.*

Our arms—shackled up to this hour with chains of iron, now burst their bonds, and eagerly grasp the sword to annihilate abhorred tyranny.

Our feet—that have laboured day and night at the most cruel tasks, now hasten to vindicate our rights.

Our heads—which bent the neck to the yoke, now plan our freedom.

Our tongues—which before dared not utter a sound, except vain supplications for clemency, now cry with a loud voice, and make the air re-echo with the sweet name of liberty. In one word, we are unanimously resolved on Liberty or Death. Thus determined, we earnestly invite the united aid of all civilized nations to promote the attainment of our holy and legitimate purpose, the recovery of our rights, and the revival of our unhappy nation.

With every right does Greece, our mother, whence ye also, O Nations, have become enlightened, anxiously request your friendly assistance, with money, arms, and counsel, and we entertain the highest hope that our appeal will be listened to: promising to show ourselves deserving of your interest, and at the proper time to prove our gratitude by deeds.

Given from the Spartan Head Quarters, Calamata, 23d March, 1821, (O. S.)

Signed, **PIETRO MAVROMICALI,**
Commander-in-chief of the Spartan and Messinian forces.

In this state of affairs, Isouf, Pacha of Negropont, arrived at the head of three hundred and fifty Turkish soldiers, chiefly on horseback. Mr. Green, who was present on this occasion, says that the Turks did not fire a shot, but that on their approach, the garrison besieged in the fortress discharged all the artillery simultaneously, as a kind of salute. This roused the Greeks, most of whom were in their beds, and they commenced a precipitate flight towards the mountains and the sea-shore. It is quite impossible, says he, to describe the scene that followed. Crowds of men, women, and children, rushed towards St. Andrea, on the sea-shore, where there were about sixty vessels and boats. Ionians and Greeks, with their women and children, embarked on board the different vessels, which weighed anchor and proceeded towards Zante ; the Russian, Prussian, and Swedish Consuls being among the number.

The evacuation of the town by the Greeks really appeared to have been agreed upon, as the Turks did not attempt to pursue them or cut off their retreat ; and the entire population, amounting to perhaps eight thousand souls, of which number there were six thousand men capable of bearing arms, were suffered quietly to depart.

Four hours after the arrival of the Pacha, the town was given up to pillage, and the work of destruction began. Numbers of Greeks, chiefly old men, women, and children, took refuge in the Consulates. Several unfortunate Greeks were found near the town, whom the Turks took, and having cut off their heads, threw the bodies into the streets.

On the 16th of April, the Pacha gave orders to set fire to the houses of the Greek primates, who were suspected to be the instigators and leaders of the revolution ; the wind being high, and the houses composed of combustible materials, about 700 were burned in the space of ten hours, including the Dutch, Russian, and Swedish Consulates.

It is impossible, continues Mr. Green, for me to give an adequate description of the horrid scenes that have taken place. About forty Greeks have been decapitated, and their bodies thrown into the streets : the women and children who fell into the hands of the Turks are retained as slaves.

The insurrection soon became so universal as to strike the infidels with terror and dismay. At Calavrita and Calamata, the Turkish authorities capitulated and delivered themselves up to the Greeks, while at Gastouni and Lalla the two parties carried on a destructive warfare with each other.

Lalla is situated on a mountain, a little north of the river Alpheus, and was originally a colony of Turkish soldiers, who were governed by their own Beys. They held their lands by the tenure of military service, and had acquired a great reputation as soldiers. This little community did not lose a tittle of their reputation on the present occasion. Being attacked, and finally surrounded by the Greeks, they were obliged to retire to their town, which, though unfortified, their resistance was such as to keep the enemy at bay, until their provisions became scanty. They then made application for assistance to Isouf Pacha, at Patras, who marched to their relief with twelve hundred men. The Count Metaxa, a Cephalonian, who commanded a party of Ionians and Zantiots, having with the other Greeks taken post on a neighbouring eminence, waited the attack of the Lalliot with the reinforcements from Patras, when a most desperate contest ensued. "The Turks," says Mr. Blaquiere, "who were far superior in numbers, made repeated charges with their cavalry upon the intrenchments of the Ionians: constantly repulsed, however, by hot fire of grape and musketry, they were forced to retire with the loss of more than three hundred men; that of the Ionians was also considerable, and Metaxa, their leader, received a severe wound. In consequence of this affair, the Lalliot abandoned their town, after setting it on fire, and retreated with their families to Patras."*

* Blaquiere, vol. 1. p. 100. Mr. Green, (Sketches, p. 52.) gives a different version of this affair. "I learn," says he, "that the Pacha had just returned to Patras from Lalla, with all the inhabitants of that place. It appears that upon Isouf's arrival before Lalla, he found a large body of Greeks collected, which he instantly attacked, and, with the assistance of the Lalliot, after a desperate conflict succeeded in putting them to flight. On the approach of the Ottomans, the Ionian auxiliaries opened a heavy fire from six guns, which did considerable execution. The Selictar (Sword-bearer) of the Pacha was killed by his side, and the chief of the Albanians had his horse shot under him. The Turks being unprovided with artillery, judged it best to advance as rapidly as possible; the moment they came hand to hand, the Moreot Greeks fled precipitately, leaving the Ionians to their fate; these last resisted with great courage as long as practicable, but being overpowered by numbers, and abandoned by the Moreots, they were compelled to give way, and retreated towards the coast, pursued by the victors. Those who were able got on board boats, and effected their escape to Zante and Cephalonia. They complain bitterly of the conduct of the Moreots, and apparently with reason, if their statement be true, that

At Caritena, about one hundred Turks took refuge in an old Venetian castle, above the town, built on a rock which overhangs the Alpheus. As they had no means of subsistence in this isolated spot, two thousand Turks were detached from Tripolizza to bring them off. Colocotroni hearing of this expedition, advanced with three thousand Greeks to prevent the passage of the Turks. But such was the dread with which these Greeks were struck on the approach of their enemies, that they dispersed, to the great mortification of their leader, and permitted the Ottomans to extricate their countrymen without molestation.

But notwithstanding, it was some time before the Greek peasants could accustom themselves to bear the glances of those tyrants, in whose presence they had been wont to cringe in abject servility; yet these impressions of terror soon wore off, and gave place to the utmost contempt. Indeed, it was only a few months after the revolution commenced, that the Greeks were able to meet the Turks, man to man, with at least an equal chance of success.

Among the soldiers of the Morea, the Mainotes were the most brave and skilful in the use of their arms. On many occasions they gave examples of intrepidity, which other Grecian troops hardly dared to imitate. But their characters are stained with many vices, being particularly addicted to pillage and robbery, without caring much whether the subject be friend or foe. The success of the first campaign in the Morea seemed to depend considerably on the warlike habits of these men. They had been accustomed to a kind of wild independence, which they had maintained in their native mountains for several centuries, and though they had occasionally been forced to pay tribute to the Porte, had still been in a permanent state of hostility to the Turks. On the breaking out of hostilities they were among the first to throw off all reserve, and join the standard of revolt, and to their co-

there were twelve hundred Ionians, and four thousand Greeks before Lalla, as it is certain that the Lalliot force did not exceed fifteen hundred, and that of Isouf Pacha twelve hundred men. Mr. Green further states, that the loss of the Turks was serious, but the number unknown; that the loss of the Greeks in killed and wounded might have been three hundred; and that such was the exasperated feelings of the victors, that several Ionians, who fell into the hands of the Turks, were impaled alive on the field of battle, and a sack of noses and ears brought to Patras, to be sent as trophies to the Grand Signior, which revolting plan is often adopted, as affording proof positive of the favourable result of an action.

fortresses. The head-quarters of the Mainotes, ~~and of the~~ Arcadians under Colocotroni, were therefore ~~once more~~ established in front of Tripolizza ; while Modon, Coron, and Malvasia, were invested on the land side by the peasants of Laconia and Messina, and some parties of Mainotes. Two thousand Peloponnesians and a body of Ionians formed the siege of Navarin, while a more numerous corps of Achæans, reinforced by auxiliaries from Cephalonia and Zante, sat down before Patras. Napoli di Romania was also blocked up by the militia of Argolis, and the Acropolis of Corinth by the Corinthians and Sycionians. The Hydriots and Spesziois cruised along the shore with some light vessels, and prevented any supplies from arriving by sea ; and the heroic Bobolina of Spezzia, undertook to conduct the naval blockade of Napoli di Romania, with seven sail of armed ships, brigs, and schooners, her own property, and fitted out solely at her own expense.*

It was truly fortunate for the cause of Grecian freedom, that a long peace had induced the infidels of the Morea to neglect provisioning their strong holds, and that the hurry and precipitation with which they took shelter behind their ramparts, allowed no opportunity of repairing that fault, for the Greeks, without artillery, and so deficient in military science or discipline, had no chance of reducing them except by famine : their method of conducting these novel sieges was as follows : the main body took post upon heights at a considerable distance, generally beyond the reach of cannon shot, while some advanced parties, profited by any inequalities of ground to approach the walls, remaining with extraordinary patience, behind the shelter afforded by banks or stones, watching an occasion to fire at their enemies through the embrasures and loop-holes. Prompted by the

* This extraordinary woman was killed in an affray which happened in June, 1825. It appeared that one of her brothers, of which she had five, had seduced a girl of the island ; her friends surrounded the house of Bobolina, where he lived, for the purpose of forcing the young man to marry her. The Amazon who harangued them from a window, had, it seems, been rather too profuse of her abusive terms, when a shot from the brother of the injured girl, passed through her head, and at once put an end to her eloquence and her life.

Such however is the regard for female virtue in those Islands, that the delinquent was never brought to trial ; whilst the universal voice of the inhabitants compelled the brother of Bobolina to marry the girl a few days after.—*Picture of Greece*, vol. i. p. 112.

hope of procuring a little forage and provisions, or more frequently from mere lassitude, the Mussulmen sometimes made a sortie, and drove back the outposts, upon which the main body would hasten to their support; after a distant exchange of musketry, the Turks thinking that they had given themselves sufficient exercise, retired within the walls, and were often pursued by the Greeks. Neither party had any idea of acting in a body, but merely as sharp shooters. In these skirmishes, the Mainotes and Ionians were always the boldest and most forward of the Christian troops. It is true that the latter, by taking part in the war, exposed themselves to severe penalties, as well as confiscation of property, enacted by the Parliament of the Seven Islands; but the brave men whom a sentiment of patriotism and zeal for their religion induced to come forward thus nobly, will have their reward in history, while those legislators who so easily lent their sanction to measures, dictated solely by prejudice and passion, have already incurred the galling ban of public opinion. It did not unfrequently happen that a short truce was agreed upon by mutual consent; during this, groups of the two nations might be seen sitting on the grass, smoking, conversing, and even eating together: this intercourse continued till the armistice was declared to be at an end, when each party went back to their respective stations, and hostilities recommenced as fiercely as ever.

While these scenes were passing in the Peloponnesus, the insurrection continued to gain ground in the northern parts of Greece, though with less vigour and with fewer striking events. The Roumeliots generally boasted that they were better soldiers than the natives of the Morea, but their conduct during the early part of the contest cannot certainly be cited as a proof of superiority. In Acarnania and Etolia, the revolution was effected without any difficulty, there being no Turkish troops in these provinces, except a few at Lepanto. In Phocis, Attica, and Bœotia, the peasants assembled in arms upon the mountains, but struck no blow worthy of being mentioned; the Athenians and Bœotians were indeed regarded as the worst troops in Greece.

About the time that the Kiayah Bey entered the Peloponnesus, another detachment of Chourschid Pacha's army advanced through the passes of Oeta, into Bœotia, burned the city of Livadia, and occupied Thebes. Omer Vrioni, an Albanian chief of some reputation, who had the honour of defeating a party of British troops near Rosetta, in the ill-con-

certed expedition of 1807, marched towards Athens, with seven hundred horse. The town was in possession of the peasants of Attica, and the few Turks it contained shut up in the Acropolis, were in great distress for want of provisions; while, in order to accelerate its capture, the Hydriots had disembarked a body of islanders with some ship guns at the Piræus. But no sooner did they receive tidings of Omer's approach, than a general flight took place. The Hydriots sailing away, while the Athenians sought shelter either in the mountains or in the island of Salamis, where fifteen hundred of them found a refuge; thus imitating the conduct of their ancestors, though it must be confessed, under circumstances infinitely less honourable to themselves. Soon afterwards, however, Odysseus and some other Greek captains, who had been attached to the former army of Ali Pacha, came from Epirus, and occupying the defiles of Thermopylæ, effectually prevented any more reinforcements from advancing in that direction.

In Macedonia, hostilities had already commenced, and the Christians of that Province, meeting at first with some success, pushed their incursions as far as the gates of Salonica, causing great alarm in that rich and populous city. But, instead of following any fixed plan, they roamed about the country in separate bands, and for objects of little importance: having at length been discomfited in a few insignificant skirmishes, their courage began to fail them; the panic that ensued was also followed by the abandonment of sixty or seventy villages, whose inhabitants retired into the treble Peninsula of Cassandra, Torone, and Mount Athos. At the commencement of these tumults, the Greek inhabitants of Mount Pelion, in Thessaly, were excited to revolt, by the eloquent exhortations of Anthimos Gazi, a distinguished literary character long resident at Vienna. But this insurrection was soon suppressed by the Turks, and Anthimos obliged to conceal himself in the first instance, and finally quit the country.*

At sea the Greeks carried every thing before them, and for a long time rode undisputed masters of the Egean, keep-

* The persecutions and cruelties at Salonica were little inferior to those at Constantinople, and although the victims were not so numerous, yet many thousand Greeks of every age and sex perished under the Mussulman knife. It is worthy of remark, that the Jews, of whom there are considerable numbers in this part of Greece, were armed by the Turks, and joined heartily in all their excesses.

ing the Turkish ports and islands in a state of complete blockade : with the exception of merchant vessels, however, the only prizes hitherto made, consisted of a corvette, with a small complement of men, surprised in the port of Milo, and also one or two brigs of war. But a far more glorious triumph was afforded them, by the first attempt the Ottomans made to regain possession of the sea, and re-establish the maritime communication between Constantinople, Smyrna, and Egypt, as its interruption caused much inconvenience to the inhabitants of the capital, who were thus deprived of their usual supplies of rice and fruits. In order to effect this purpose, two line of battle-ships, and several smaller vessels, quitted the Hellespont towards the end of May, and proceeded as far as the Island of Lesbos. The Greek squadron fell in with one of the two deckers, a seventy-four gun ship, which had separated from the others off the southern coast of the Island. The following are a few particulars of the action, as related by Tombasi the Hydriot Admiral. Instead of keeping the open sea and making use of his formidable artillery, the Turkish captain only thought of flight, but being unable to escape without fighting, he anchored his ship at the entrance of the gulf of Adrametum. On this, the Greeks immediately prepared fire-ships to lay him on board ; their first attempt failed, but the second completely succeeded. Two of these destructive masses being linked together, fell athwart the bows of the Ottoman, while the ignorant Mussulmen stood on deck with their muskets, to oppose what they imagined to be an attempt at boarding, deceived by several effigies the Greeks had dressed up in different parts of the fire vessels. When once attacked, only a few minutes elapsed before the Turkish ship was enveloped in flames, the captain then cut his cables and allowed her to drift towards the shore, but long before reaching it she run aground. The crew now endeavoured to save themselves by swimming ; but the victorious islanders pursued in their boats, and such was the perils which the Turks had to encounter, that out of a complement of eight hundred men, scarcely a single individual was saved. As to the ship, she burned to the water's edge. On getting intelligence of this disaster, the rest of the infidel squadron fled with all possible speed to the Dardanelles.*

* Blaquiere, p. 100—114.

CHAPTER XIII.

Demetrius Ipsilanti assumes the command.—Cantacuzene.—Their Reception.—Candiotti.—Affendouli.—State of Parties in 1821.—Hetarists and Ephors: their respective views.—Germanos.—Klepthis.—Character of the Ephors.—Qualities of the Hetarists: their Confidence in Russia.—Ipsilanti.—Cantacuzene.—Prince Mavrocordato.—Caradja.—Mavromicali, Prince of Maina.—Kyriacoula.—Colocotroni; his character and views.—Anagnostaras of Leondari.—Plans of Ipsilanti.—Opposed by the Ephors.—Siege of Malvasia and Navarin; their Capture.—Excesses of the Patriots.—Tipoldo.—Resignation and recall of Prince Demetrius.

* “THE arrival of Demetrius Ipsilanti at Hydra gave a new impulse to the enthusiasm of the patriots; this young officer reached the island early in June from Trieste, having traversed the Austrian dominions in disguise, and thus evaded the fate of his brother. He bore a commission from Prince Alexander, appointing him general in chief of all the forces in Greece, and was accompanied by a younger brother of prince Cantacuzene and some other Greeks belonging to families settled in the north of Europe. The Hydriots received Ipsilanti with discharges of artillery and other demonstrations of joy. After remaining a few days in the island, in the course of which a proclamation was issued explaining the object of his coming, he made some changes in the local government, and proceeded to the Morea, where he assumed the command of the army before Tripolizza. The disastrous issue of his brother's expedition could not then be known, and it was generally supposed that Demetrius had brought large sums of money and a quantity of military stores; but this illusion soon vanished, for it was found he had not more than 200,000 Turkish piastres, most of which Petros Bey† borrowed for the support of his followers and two hundred stand of arms. As the melancholy termination of the northern campaign became known, the ardour excited by Ipsilanti's arrival began to cool, when the Ephors turned a deaf ear to all his propositions for organi-

* Blaquiere p. 115.

† Mavromicali.

sing the army and establishing a regular system of administration. They were equally insensible to the menaces of one of his companions, named Condiotti, formerly valet-de-chambre to Count Capo d'Istria, and who threatened them not only with the vengeance of Prince Alexander, but with that of the Autocrat himself. They had, however, already heard that one was a fugitive and prisoner, and that the other loudly disavowed their cause. Unable to realize his plans, Condiotti withdrew from the Morea, though not without a strong suspicion of being one of those who had embezzled part of the sums raised by subscription among the Hetaerists. Another determined partizan of Russia, Affendouli, who constantly appeared in the uniform of that nation, went to Crete, and obtained the command of the independent forces there, but he was soon driven away as an impostor, and narrowly escaped with his life. Having alluded to the first symptoms of dissension between Ipsilanti and the Ephors, that is, perhaps, the most proper place to offer a few remarks on the state of parties in Greece at this period; for it is only by a correct data on the actors, that many of these circumstances which have marked the progress of the contest can be explained.

The attempt to regenerate a people who have been long weighed down by tyranny, and exposed to the influence of a corrupt and demoralizing government, is a task of infinite difficulty, and must ever encounter obstacles almost insurmountable. On the first dawn of freedom in Modern Greece, it is to be lamented, that so much of the spirit of dissension, coeval with the formation of the ancient republics, and aptly characterised as the inveterate malady of the Greek cities, by a writer of antiquity, should have survived the Lower Empire and Turkish despotism:—when a system of rule like that to which the Greek people had been subjected by all their conquerors, and the abuses connected with their religious dogmas, are considered, who can wonder, if many of the chiefs who now came forward, seemed more anxious for the interests of his native village or city, than the general good of the confederacy. The want of concert, as well as that variety of detached operations which were pursued at different points, may be attributed to the above causes. The nation was, besides, divided into two great parties; those of the Hetaerists, and Ephors or Primates. It is also to be observed, that there was scarcely a man in either party, who had been accustomed to the direction of a public ad-

ministration or conducting national affairs on a grand scale. As soon as the Turkish magistrates had lost their power, all authority in civil matters naturally fell into the hands of the Bishops and Primates, who had, under the Ottoman yoke, been employed to collect imposts and arrange the minor details of domestic and municipal polity among the Christian communities; but these men, accustomed to every species of low intrigue, fraud, and extortion, and to enrich themselves at the expense of the poorer classes, were neither able to quit the beaten track in which they had so long moved, nor get rid of their grovelling habits; much less raise themselves to the level of existing circumstances. The characters of such men were by no means calculated to inspire respect, while their influence could only be maintained by caballing together and retaining bands of unprincipled satellites in their pay. One of the most conspicuous individuals in this class, was Germanos, Archbishop of Patras, a vain, ambitious, selfish, and intriguing churchman. The armed population was commanded by officers bearing the title of Capitani, a word of very vague signification; since some were at the head of two thousand men, while others were not followed by more than twenty or thirty. In the military councils, the greatest share of influence and authority was either assumed by, or conferred on the leading klephts, who were the only persons capable of heading the troops, the inferior commanders being elected by the voluntary suffrage of the provincial militia that served under them. Thus, each village had its petty chief, who was allowed to command while he made himself agreeable, and no longer. It sometimes happened that these officers, though engaged in the same enterprise, acted quite independently of each other; but it more frequently occurred, that a number of them agreed to obey one chief of superior reputation. Nor did the best understanding always exist between the Captains and the Primates, although they were reciprocally dependent on each other; the first for receiving a regular supply of rations, which it was the business of the Ephors to collect and send to the army; the second, for having their decrees enforced, and measures carried into effect. The confusion arising from the jumble of civil and military organization, to which the country party adhered but too obstinately, may be easily conceived: brought up under the Turkish system, and participating in its abuses, they seemed to have no permanent rule of action, and took a singular pride in attempting to imi-

tate the barbarous pomp displayed by the Mahometans of rank. But the views of the Heterists were altogether different: educated in Europe, and more accustomed than their less favoured countrymen to the usages of civilized life, they were anxious to introduce them into Greece: unfortunately, however, they consisted for the most part of young men, who had no experience of public business. Having but lately issued from colleges and counting houses, often carried away by passion and enthusiasm, they took too little pains to conceal the high opinion they entertained of their own powers, and their contempt for associates who had not enjoyed the same advantages. Their hopes were fixed upon Russia, and however strange it may appear, they would have been willing to govern regenerated Greece, under Russian protection. At the head of this little party, was Demetrius Ipsilanti, whose name, whatever may have been the errors of the Heterists, cannot be mentioned without feelings of esteem and respect. This young man, though not more than twenty-two years of age, had held the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Russian army, but without having found an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of his profession by active service in the field. His exterior is rather unfavourable, being of short stature, and nearly bald; and there is an expression of coldness in his manner, which is apt to repel strangers; but on a closer acquaintance, this reserve wears away, when his excellent qualities appear in their true colours. Intrepid, persevering, and totally indifferent to the allurements of pleasure, Ipsilanti has no thought, no wish, but for the honour and happiness of Greece: and if he desired to be at the head of the government, it was only that he might be able to render her more essential service. Unlike many others, he was scrupulous in the means he employed to gain even his most favourite ends, and disinterested in the extreme, amidst a system of pillage and speculation which would have followed a similar revolution in the most enlightened country of Europe. Although no man had deeper reasons to hate the Turks, yet he constantly interposed to save them from insult and ill treatment when vanquished, and by example as well as precept, endeavoured to check the excesses inseparable from such a war. If his efforts were not always crowned with success, there is not less credit due to the character and motives of Prince Demetrius. His greatest fault is, perhaps, that of not possessing sufficient energy, and being too mild for the circumstances in which

he was placed, and the men with whom he had to act. The situation of the Prince was both difficult and delicate; surrounded by jarring interests and passions, an object of constant jealousy to the Primates, and frequently opposed in his attempts to correct prevailing defects.

Prince Cantacuzene, the colleague of Ipsilanti, though sprung from a Greek family, was in all respects a Russian: full of spirit and activity, he appeared to be gifted with a considerable share of military skill, but soon became tired of a service, in which the objects of a man's ambition could only be attained by sacrifices which few are willing to make.—After the capture of Malvasia, where he commanded the besieging force, Cantacuzene refused to accept any employment, unless sufficient means were given him, with an assurance of support: and as the gratification of these wishes were impracticable in the existing state of the contest, he quitted Greece altogether in October, and repaired to Italy, whence he has not since returned.

Early in August, Prince Mavrocordato and Caradja, the first a highly distinguished Panariot, and the second a son of a fugitive Hospodar, arrived from Marseilles in a Greek vessel, loaded with military stores, which Mavrocordato had purchased there, and after visiting the camp before Patras, disembarked their supplies at Missolonghi. The talents and noble character of Mavrocordato, soon procured him great weight and authority among all classes, while Caradja was a mere cypher, and his name scarcely ever mentioned. With respect to the Bey of Maina, Mavromicalis, though as anxious to see his country free as most men, his period of personal activity has gone by, and he was also destitute of those powers of the mind, indispensable for those destined to take a prominent part in such a revolution. His brother, Kyriacouli, on whom the command of the Mainotes seemed principally to devolve, gave proofs of courage and enterprize: and his eldest son was a young man of very great promise, possessing a fascinating exterior, amiable manners, and full of patriotism: both found a glorious death in the summer of 1822: the first was killed on the coast of Epirus, and the second being surrounded near Carystus, in Eubœa, by a body of the enemy, far superior in number, after seeing all his companions slain by his side, chose rather to plunge a dagger into his heart, than fall alive into the hands of the infidels.

Of all those who have been called upon to aid the Greek

cause, Colocotroni deserves most particular notice. This chief had never submitted to the Ottomans, but like his ancestors, had almost from his cradle carried on a petty warfare against them, spreading alarm throughout his native province, at the head of a band of faithful and determined followers, making the most inaccessible mountains of Arcadia his abode, and plundering all who came in his way. No wonder if the character of such a man received a tinge from the wild habits of his life: hasty and violent in his temper; an Ajax in person; bold and daring in the field, where he seemed to court danger; greedy and rapacious of spoil, fertile in stratagem, it would have been almost impossible to find a more active or efficient partizan. Driven from the Morea by Veli Pacha, he first entered into the Russian, and subsequently the British service, and was appointed captain of guides in one of the Greek battalions raised in the Ionian Islands. But his military experience had given Colocotroni no relish for tactics or discipline: to neither of which did he appear to attach the smallest importance. When pressed on these points, he merely remarked, that if the Greeks were ignorant of the art of war, their enemies the Turks were equally so. Content to practise the lessons of early life, the first resource that presented itself to his mind in moments of danger, was a retreat to the mountains; these were looked upon as his castles and citadels, and once among them he deemed himself invincible. In politics, he appeared rather wavering and undecided. Colocotroni neither loved nor esteemed Ipsilanti, whom he accused of sloth and want of vigour: yet did he for a long time affect to give the Prince his countenance and support. Some of the Ephors had, however, a certain degree of influence over him. In his heart, Colocotroni is probably a Russian, although it should be added, that he never showed himself well-disposed towards the Hetarists; on the other hand, it is not improbable but that he wished to perpetuate the reign of anarchy, in order to profit by it, and rule the storm.

Anagnostaras of Leondari, had led the same kind of life as Colocotroni, to whom he was allied by a long friendship; had been captain of grenadiers in the same corps, and like him, enjoyed a green and vigorous old age: he was besides a good soldier, endowed both with prudence and discretion. The name of the brave and modest Nikitas has already appeared; few of the other captains of this period enjoyed, or indeed seemed to deserve, much reputation.

Ipsilanti had two important projects in view: one of these was to establish a general and central government for all Greece; the other, to put the army upon a regular footing, and assimilate it to the troops of Europe. Both the above designs met with numberless obstacles; the first would have destroyed the influence of many interested individuals, who were at the head of different states of the confederation, and the second was calculated to lessen the power of the military chiefs. The captains and ephors therefore joined in opposing them, and in other respects, created such difficulties as to render the situation of the Prince exceedingly irksome. In the meanwhile two events occurred, which, though favourable to the cause of independence, tended, by their consequences, to exasperate Ipsilanti still more.

The strong fortresses of Malvasia* and Navarin surrendered to the patriots in August. The former, situated on the east coast of Laconia, is a place very difficult to reduce, being built on a rock washed on every side by the Egean sea, and communicating with the continent only by a bridge. Defended in this quarter by a strong treble wall, it is inaccessible at every other point, containing within itself, sources of excellent water, and a small patch of cultivated land, sufficient to support a garrison of fifty or sixty men. Below this impregnable citadel, is a port and suburb, where most of the inhabitants reside. The Greeks had kept it closely blockaded both by sea and land, since the month of April; Cantacuzene arrived in the camp about the middle of July, and took the command; famine had already made dreadful havoc amongst the Mahometans, who, after prolonging their existence by the most unnatural aliments, were at length reduced to feed on human flesh, eating their prisoners, and even their own children. Nor was this a solitary instance, as most of the strong holds in the Peloponnesus, presented similar examples. To such extremities will men go, in obedience to the great and irresistible law of self-preservation.

But while the majority of the population was thus suffering, the governor, shut up with two hundred soldiers in the citadel, enjoyed abundance, and gave himself no trouble about the fate of his countrymen in the lower town. These last, were disposed rather to famish, than trust to the mercy of the peasants and Mainotes, who were investing the place:

* Napoli di Malvasia.

but the arrival of the Prince Cantacuzene having inspired them with some degree of confidence, they ventured to open a negotiation. Full protection was stipulated for their lives, moveable property, and the honour of their families ; it was also agreed that they should be transported in Greek vessels to the coast of Anatolia. On the faith of these assurances, a part of the inhabitants got into the castle by stratagem, seized and disarmed the governor and his troops, and on the 3d of August opened the gates to the besiegers.

Prompted by those feelings of irritation and revenge which have been so often betrayed under similar circumstances, and impressed with a notion that the garrison was not entitled to the benefits of a capitulation entered into by the inhabitants of the town, the Greek soldiery, strangers to discipline, fell on the former, of whom numbers perished. To the credit of Cantacuzene, it should be added, that he displayed equal prudence and firmness on this occasion ; interposing his authority with such effect as to save a number of lives, and eventually succeeded in putting a stop to the excesses, though not without considerable risk from his own soldiers, who conceived they were only retaliating the countless murders previously committed by the infidels : considering the relative situation of the parties now opposed, and the nature of the war, it could hardly be expected that the minor articles of the capitulation were very scrupulously observed. The Turks were, however, shipped off in three Ipsariot vessels, and landed on a small island close to the Asiatic coast, whence they reached the continent. Though the Greeks have been reproached for this act, they can scarcely be blamed for not entering an Ottoman port, well knowing that such a step would have been attended with certain death.

Navarin, which also surrendered soon after, was the theatre of another tragedy, to which none but wars between slaves and their task-masters ever give rise. Well fortified, and possessing one of the finest harbours in Europe, this city is built in the immediate vicinity of the ancient Pylos ; it was ably defended by the Turks, who made several vigorous sorties, but at last, every kind of sustenance being exhausted, after devouring even their slippers, they were forced to capitulate. Ipsilanti had sent one of the best and most distinguished of his friends, Tipaldo, the Cephalonian, to conduct the siege. Tipaldo was a man of virtue and abilities, who, after practising as a physician in Bessarabia with great suc-

cess, abandoned the rising prospect of wealth to take his part in the national war. He manifested great spirit at the head of some Ionians, in the various actions which were fought under the walls, and it was his presence that chiefly induced the Turks to treat about a surrender; for such was their obstinate resolution, that they had placed barrels of gunpowder under their houses, with the intention of blowing up the town, when a longer resistance should become impossible: the same terms were granted here as at Malvasia. It was while the siege of both these places had been carrying on, that the news of the Patriarch's murder, and that of the Greek clergy at Adrianople, together with the profanation of the Christian churches throughout the empire, spread through Greece; the fury of the troops, worked up to madness, was therefore vented on the garrison, of whom a considerable number was sacrificed. Tipaldo endeavoured in vain to arrest the heart-rending spectacle, the infuriated soldiery answering his exhortation by citing some act of personal suffering or oppression, and directing his attention to the recent massacres of the capital and other places.*

These disorders, joined to the opposition he experienced, in other respects, roused the indignation of Ipsilanti, who determined to withdraw until a clearer understanding could be established. He accordingly issued a proclamation, in which

* Mr. Green, (Sketches,) p. 57, gives a different colouring to this affair. The place, says he, was closely invested by the Greek peasantry, assisted by some Ionians, under the command of Count Mercati, of Zante; all supplies, or communication, were cut off, and the scanty stock of provisions that had been hastily carried into the fortress soon began to fail. The water was also turned from the aqueducts, and none was obtainable within the walls. Disease made dreadful ravages, and the besieged, seeing no chance of succour, entered into a negotiation with the Greeks, when a capitulation was agreed on, stipulating that the Turks should be transported in Greek vessels to the coast of Barbary. The Greek Bishop of Modon and Arcadia, who commanded, ratified this treaty by the most solemn professions sworn on the cross; but no sooner was the fortress taken possession of than he advised and indeed insisted on all the Turks being put to death, as the best means of getting rid of them. In consequence of this decision, after a massacre of one day, between three and four hundred men, women, and children, were put upon the small island in the middle of the harbour, opposite the town, there stripped naked and left to die of hunger; their remains are to be seen to this day.

We have seen no author who confirms this horrid account, and as Mr. Green does not pretend that he saw these remains, we hope there is some exaggeration in the story.

he inveighed bitterly against the cruelties and indiscipline of the Peloponnesians, and giving up the command, proceeded to Leondari. The Primates and Captains being however alarmed at this step, sent a deputation to the place of his retreat, and persuaded him to resume his functions as generalissimo.*



CHAPTER XIV.

Siege of Tripolizza.—Its Situation and Fortifications.—Garrison and Inhabitants.—Inadequate means of attack possessed by the Greeks.—Arrival of Prince Mavrocordato.—Mr. Gordon of Cairness joins the Christian Camp.—Plans of Ipsilanti.—Conduct of the Ephors.—Difficulties opposed to the Regular Siege.—Batteries are established.—Abortive attempt at Mining.—Privations and Sufferings of the Besieged.—Views of the Primates and Captains.—Negotiations with the Albanian Troops.—Action of the 23d September.—Ipsilanti marches towards the Gulf of Lepanto.—The command devolves on Mavromichali.—The Conferences are continued.—A party of Greeks enter the Town.—The Assault becomes general.—Catastrophe which followed.—Concluding Remarks.

1821. “HOWEVER essential,” says Mr. Blaquiere, “the reduction of other points in the Peloponnesus may have been to the patriots, the eyes of all were naturally fixed on the fall of Tripolizza, as an object of paramount importance : the forces employed at Navarin and Malvasia were, therefore, immediately ordered to co-operate in the siege of the capital.

“Tripolizza, a town of modern origin, is built on the southern side of a long and elevated plain, surrounded by bleak and rugged mountains, almost destitute of wood, and lays nearly half way between the ancient Arcadian cities of Mantanea and Tygea. The town is irregularly constructed, mostly of stone, with narrow, dirty, and crooked streets, having on the whole a very mean appearance. With respect to the fortifications, they consist of a wall of masonry nine feet high, six feet thick at the bottom, and three at the top ; and which is furnished with a double row of ill contrived loop

* Blaquiere, p. 120—130.

holes : at about two thirds of its height from the ground, runs a narrow and inconvenient banquette, which can only be ascended by flights of steps, placed at unequal distances for this purpose. Instead of bastions there are demi-towers at different points, where cannon are placed, the rest of the wall being only defended by musketry. A citadel has been constructed west of the town, and on a somewhat more regular plan, with casements, whose roofs are bomb-proof : but, as these are open at the sides, and the whole interior space is extremely small, it is incapable of defence, if regularly attacked. The artillery, composed of thirty pieces of brass, and partly of old iron guns, many of them honey-combed, was mounted on loose blocks of wood, instead of carriages, and but very indifferently supplied with ammunition or shot. Besides these advantages, another rocky eminence, commanding the town and citadel, within little more than two hundred yards, completely screens the approaches of a besieging army.

“ The population, usually consisting of about fifteen thousand persons, was now much augmented by the influx of Turks from various quarters of the Morea. The Bardouniots, a wild Mussulman tribe of Laconia, bordering upon Maina, and resembling the Mainotes in their warlike disposition and predatory habits, had also taken shelter at Tripolizza. All these, with the Albanians of the Kiayah, forming a garrison of about 8,000 men, the whole number of persons collected there, could not probably have been less than 20,000 : yet did they allow themselves to be blockaded by 5,000 raw and ill-armed Greeks, encamped without artillery or cavalry, on the summits of Tricopha.

“ So long as the Turkish horses were fresh and fit for service, the Christians did not attempt to occupy the plain. But the Mussulmen cavalry was gradually ruined for want of forage, and could no longer appear in the field in sufficient numbers. As the ground is entirely parched up in autumn, and destitute of a single blade of grass, their only forage consisted of vine leaves. The Greeks were, therefore, enabled to render the blockade closer, by posting themselves in the hamlets and villages round the town. Frequent skirmishes now took place, brought on by the attempts of the Turks to penetrate into the vineyards. On one occasion, a large body of them having made a sally, and marched for some distance into the country, fell into an ambuscade on its return, and was defeated by Colocotroni with the loss of more than 100 men, in killed alone ; this check rendered the

~~infidels~~ more cautious. Provisions soon began to be scarce, and they were greatly distressed for water, the Greeks having cut the pipes that conducted it into the town.

Ipsilanti was, however, unwilling to wait for the slow operations of famine, and therefore felt very desirous of commencing a regular siege. To carry this purpose into effect two things were required ; ordnance fit to batter the walls, and men who had some acquaintance, at least, with the rudiments of gunnery and engineering. After the capture of Malvasia and Navarin, some pieces of cannon and mortars were transported from these places ; their management was entrusted to an Italian adventurer, who gave himself out for a skilful master of that art ; but having burst a mortar in his very first essay, he was dismissed with disgrace.

“ Having communicated with Marco Bozzaris, and other chiefs of Epirus, as well as appropriating a part of his supplies to the wants of Missolonghi, Prince Mavrocordato reached the camp before Tripolizza towards the end of August, bringing in his suite some French and Italian officers, who had accompanied him from Marseilles. The arrival of Mr. Gordon of Cairness, in the last days of September, also gave a most salutary impulse to the progress of the siege. This gentleman, having travelled in the east of Europe, was intimately acquainted with the system of tyranny under which the Christian communities had so long groaned. He had also been distinguished for his military talents during the late war ; and though in the enjoyment of all the advantages which fortune could bestow, every other consideration gave way to his sympathy for the struggling people of Greece. Hastening to Marseilles soon after the rising took place in the Peloponnesus, he loaded a vessel with cannon, arms, and ammunition, and having selected a few followers whose support could be relied on, proceeded to Hydra, and thence to Tripolizza. Brave, humane, generous, and unassuming, the arrival of such an auxiliary could not fail to cheer the Greeks ; and it is but justice to say, that they have never ceased to appreciate the importance of services, rendered doubly valuable at a time when their cause seemed to be totally abandoned by the whole Christian world.

“ Thus strengthened, councils of war were held, and preparations made for pushing the siege with all possible vigour. Ipsilanti had never given up his intention of forming regular troops, and having now so many men at his disposal, he endeavoured to carry this design into execution. A brave

French officer, named Balisto, who had accompanied the Prince from Trieste, was already employed at Calamata, in training a battalion who were clothed in black, the colour of the Heterists, and armed with muskets and bayonets. Some of the officers were European, and the men mostly from the islands on the coast of Asia Minor. Amongst them were many unfortunate Cydonians, whose flourishing city had been given up to the flames, and destroyed during the recent persecutions in that quarter. Mr. Gordon, who had been received with open arms by the chiefs as well as the Prince, and immediately placed at the head of the general staff, undertook the training of some companies in the camp of Tri-copha. Recruits presented themselves with alacrity, allured by the hope of obtaining a good musket and better accoutrements : nearly all of them showed great quickness in learning their evolutions. But the jealousy of the Ephors defeated this scheme, for they dissolved the corps by refusing to furnish provisions, and thereby inducing the soldiers to desert. They would have willingly done the same at Calamata, obliging Ipsilanti not only to disburse the pay of the battalion out of his own resources, but even to find its rations at an exorbitant price : thus opposed, it was with some difficulty he could obtain forage for the few horses on which his staff was mounted, while his stable was very scantily supplied. All these obstacles were borne with great patience by the Prince, who seemed only to think of the interests at stake, not doubting but that the former would be removed by time.

“ There were at this period about two thousand men in different parts of Greece, who had belonged to the regiments formed in the Ionian Islands by General Church,* an officer whose name is very popular among the military chiefs. Yet, not one of these would aid in the establishment of regular troops, preferring their own bands where there was no restraint of discipline. With regard to those Greeks who had served in Russia and France, the case was altogether different. Being, in general, meritorious officers who came to their country's aid in its hour of need, they highly favoured the project. But what could be effected by the zeal of a few

* This officer is still in the service of Naples, and is the same who was forced to fly from popular vengeance in Sicily, when the people of that unhappy and oppressed Island sought to shake off the Neapolitan yoke in 1821.

isolated individuals, who were almost looked upon as foreigners?

“Though the resolution to commence the siege in regular form had been made early in September, every day some new difficulties arose. The artillery consisted of one twenty-four pounder in the worst possible state of repair, one eighteen and two sixteen pounders; one twelve and ten inch mortar, all of iron, and three or four light brass field pieces, two and four pounders. There were not above fifty bullets for the heavy pieces, and the bombs which had been left at Malvasia, by the Venetians, were almost choked up with dirt; the powder was of the most indifferent description, and yet it was necessary to put in very weak charges, to prevent the old and honey-combed pieces from bursting. Not a gabion or fascine could be procured, although there was an abundance of materials in the neighbourhood, and some thousand idlers in the camp. The only substitute was a small quantity of bags, generally so rotten that many of them burst in the attempt to fill them with earth. Whether it arose from obstinacy or ignorance, the Greeks, who hazarded every thing on the events of the war, and were content to remain twelve hours together behind a stone, watching for an opportunity to fire at a Turkish sentinel, refused to touch a shovel or a pick axe: and it was only occasionally, and by great perseverance of the chiefs, that a few labourers could be collected; as, without a military chest, every idea of paying was out of the question. A small corps of artillerymen, composed of Ionians, Dalmatians, and Italians, formed a most agreeable contrast to this unaccountable apathy; almost destitute of food or clothing, they served throughout with unwearied courage and perseverance, never quitting their guns for a moment.

“Amidst so many difficulties the progress of the siege could not be very rapid; but the Greeks, who seemed to expect that the sound of cannon was to produce the same effect which the trumpets of Joshua did at Jericho, murmured incessantly against the foreign officers, whom they taxed with want of skill, for not reducing the place to dust. Some advances were, however, made before the end of September. The height commanding the citadel was entrenched, and a battery established on it of two heavy guns, intended to effect a breach in the town wall. But after expending the stock of shot, it was found that no more than the upper part was beaten down; the lower and more solid portions

having received no detriment. To the right of the entrenchment were the field pieces, which could always, by few discharges of grape, clear the opposite ramparts. On the eminence in the rear, and within musket-shot of the town, the two mortars were placed in battery, and sometimes threw shells and other incendiary balls into the town, without however any other result, than damaging a few houses, and frightening the women and children. On the other side, the supineness of the infidels was really astonishing. There is not a doubt but that by a brisk cannonade of two hours, they might at any time have ruined the Greek batteries and dismounted the guns; yet they never appeared to think of such an expedient, merely firing a few shots in the morning from cannon which had been charged the night before: for unless they apprehended an assault, they never ventured to load during the day time, lest they should be exposed to the Greek marksmen; and though their fire of musketry never ceased altogether, it was always weak and ill sustained.

"In the Greek camp, various projects were agitated for the more speedy reduction of the city. Ipsilanti proposed to storm, and was seconded by the eager impatience of the troops, who demanded to be led to the assault; but the primates and captains, anxious to save the vast treasures it was supposed to contain, from general pillage, evaded this proposal, and never furnished the scaling ladders ordered by the Prince. These latter determined to proceed by mining, and accordingly they summoned the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, who were miners by profession, to the camp for that purpose. The proposed attempt was, however, totally disapproved by the foreign officers; first, because the ground presented nothing but one solid rock; and secondly, because if ever completed, there was not powder enough to charge the mine. The Greeks began, however, close to the foot of the wall, and worked with great spirit for two days, when the great impediment in the soil forced them to desist; meanwhile the distress of the besieged was extreme; the little provision that remained consisted principally of biscuit; horseflesh was appropriated to men of the highest rank, and the Kiayah's troops; while crowds of the poorer classes were seen wandering about the streets, gnawing the half burnt bones of dead animals. Many of these unhappy wretches, looking more like phantoms than human beings, came out with their families, and surrendered themselves, but were of course sent back to the town: some endeavour-

ed to escape to the mountains, but they were intercepted and slain. An epidemic disease, the consequence of famine, and of the want of good water, also made great ravages among those who but a short time before lorded it over their Christian vassals with no less pride than haughtiness. To heighten the natural horrors of such a scene, their chiefs did not agree among themselves; the Kiayah and Commandant being at daggers drawn with Khamil Bey, Governor of Corinth, the richest Turk of the Morea, or perhaps in the empire. The result of all this was, that the garrison became quite dispirited, and the Albanians had even become mutinous. Under these circumstances, the Ottomans began to make some indirect overtures for a capitulation, which were readily listened to by the Peloponnesian leaders, who promised to grant their lives, and the means of transport to Asia or Egypt. The Turks, however, always disposed to procrastinate, spun out the negotiation; for being aware that their fleet was on the coast, they still cherished some hopes of relief; at the same time the Albanians, objects of less animosity to the Greeks, and therefore less fearful of their vengeance, began to stipulate for themselves, and promised to abandon the Turkish cause, could they be assured that their old master Ali Pacha was still in existence. To convince them of this fact, a Greek, whose name they mentioned, and in whose word they reposed confidence, was sent for express from Albania, to hold a conference with them.

“ On the 23d of September, and while these various negotiations were going on, an accidental circumstance brought on a sharp action, in which the garrison gave some last proofs of expiring vigour. Ipsilanti had in vain given strict orders to prevent the practice that prevailed of the two parties meeting near the walls, to converse and even trade together. On the day in question, a species of fair was established before the spot on which the Mainotes were posted;—when their old neighbours, the Bardouniots, came out to exchange their silver mounted pistols for strings of dried figs, Kyriacouli hastened to the place, and fired his musket in the direction of the Turks as a warning for them to withdraw; but the latter, not understanding the signal, and suspecting treachery, snatched up their arms, fell upon the Greeks, and drove them back. On perceiving this success, a large body of the Mussulmen issued forth to support their countrymen, and the whole Greek army advanced to take part in the action. The fire of musketry which followed was

very heavy for above two hours, while the cannon from the Christian batteries played furiously on the town, the engagement being fought on the other side. The parties alternately gained and lost ground, until Colocotroni, having marched quite round the walls, fell in the rear of the Turks, and at the same moment a French officer, M. de la Villasse, charged them in front, sword in hand, at the head of about eighty Ionians, when they were routed and driven back with great loss. The Greeks had also some men killed and wounded in this affair.

1821. "The arrival of some disagreeable intelligence from Patras, on the 25th of September, having obliged Ipsilanti to march northward at the head of a large detachment, the command of the troops at Tricopha devolved on the Bey of Maina; for Mavrocordato and Cantacuzene had proceeded to Missolonghi a fortnight before, to assume the Government of Western Greece. The force now collected, amounted to seven thousand men, and re-inforcements were coming in daily, allured as much by the hopes of obtaining arms, as an anxiety to see their enemies driven from a place which has been a source of so many calamities to Greece: it was indeed now evident, that its fall could not be far distant. Frequent conferences were held, the Kaiyah Bey treated with an officer of the Prince's staff left there on purpose, the Bardouniots with the Bey of Maina, and the Albanians with Colocotroni. These last soon came to an understanding: it was agreed that they should return to the service of Ali Pacha, and that they should even be paid their arrears from the spoils of the city; but there was probably no serious intention of executing the second article. On the 1st of October, two thousand five hundred Bardouniots came out and surrendered to the Mainotes, taking up their quarters in the Greek camp, and the Turkish chiefs now began to treat in good earnest. During the negotiations, hostilities did not altogether cease: the mortars occasionally played on the town, and were served with precision; but it was impossible to keep up the bombardment with spirit, because their beds, made of unseasoned wood, were continually giving way. On Friday, the 5th of October, a capitulation is said to have been verbally agreed upon, but scarcely was it concluded, when a fortuitous circumstance rendered the compact of no avail, and brought on a terrible catastrophe. A few Greek soldiers having approached the gate of Argos, entered into conversation with the Turkish sentinels, and

began as usual to barter fruit. The Turks were imprudent enough to assist them in mounting the wall, with a large basket of grapes, in exchange for which they gave their arms; but no sooner had the Greeks gained the summit, than they hurled down the unguarded Mahometans; opened the gate, the only one that was not walled up, to their comrades, and displayed the standard of the Cross above it. When this emblem was perceived from the camp, it acted like an electric shock; the whole Christian army instantly rushed from all sides to the assault, and the disorder once begun could not be stopped, for the Turks immediately opened a brisk fire of cannon and small arms upon them from the citadel and ramparts. The principal Greek officers, who certainly could not have restrained their men, were drawn away by the torrent: Colocotroni was one of the last to hear what was passing, and as he would not deign to follow the steps of another Captain, he determined to force a passage for himself, so that his troops suffered severely. After the gates were broken down and the walls scaled, a furious struggle was maintained in the streets and houses; but the Peloponnesians, flushed with victory, and spurred on by vengeance, were irresistible, and before sunset all opposition was quelled in the blood of the unfortunate Moslems. The citadel, where a large body of Turks had taken refuge, having held out till the following evening, surrendered at discretion.

Filled as the history of Europe is, with the recital of cities taken by storm, and the scenes which have followed, it were a task as needless as it would be painful to retrace those which occurred at Tripolizza between the evening of the 5th and the morning of the 7th of October, 1821. The most superficial observer does not require to be told that cities thus taken, have, in civilized, as among the most savage nations, seldom failed to bring all the bad passions of our nature into frightful activity. On this occasion, that animosity which generally inflames the victorious assailant; was aggravated by the accumulated oppressions of centuries, and by recent atrocities on the part of the infidels of so dreadful a cast, that they seemed to cry aloud for retribution and vengeance. The Arcadian peasants, naturally fierce and ungovernable, and who had long suffered every species of outrage and indignity from the haughty Mahometans of Tripolizza, showed themselves both cruel and relentless towards their fallen oppressors. The Mainotes, less greedy of blood than of

spoil, secured the largest and most valuable share of booty ; about six thousand Turks are said to have perished, and some thousands were made prisoners, while numbers escaped to the mountains. The loss of the Greeks was never very exactly known, but estimated at five hundred killed and wounded.* One of the many reports circulated in Europe, and which a French author who pretends to write a history of the Greek Revolution, has gravely repeated, stated that several hundred Greeks lost their lives in fighting with each other for the spoil ; but this, like too many other charges, is utterly devoid of foundation. The Albanians, to the number of fifteen hundred, marched out of the town, as the Greeks entered, without the least hostility passing between them. It has been said that the latter not only received a sum of money, which was afterwards taken from them, but that they were massacred ; nothing can be further from the truth :—the fact is, they marched through the Morea in a peaceable and orderly manner, were regularly supplied with provisions, and escorted by five hundred of Colocotroni's troops to Vostizza, whence they crossed over to Roumelia ; but finding themselves on the other side, and out of danger, the remainder of their march was marked with the greatest excesses.

“ With respect to the catastrophe of Tripolizza : it is well known how acrimoniously the conduct of the Greeks on this occasion was brought forward at the time, and evidently with a view of throwing general discredit on the nation as well as the sacred cause in which it was struggling. Were it possible to measure the cruelties committed there by any ordinary standard, doubtless much of what has been said, would be considered as admissible by those who, without attempting to apologize for the excesses of an infuriated soldiery, yet feel anxious that all the circumstances of the case should be laid before the European public. That those, who so readily pronounced judgment in the first instance, were totally incompetent to decide between the Greeks and their oppressors, cannot be fairly denied, now that prejudice and passion have given way to fact and sober reasoning. If it could be shown that the infidels had preserved the life of a single armed Greek who fell into their hands, from the break-

* Mr. Green says, “ It is asserted that the Greeks did not lose more than two hundred men in the assault. Their total force collected before the place might amount to 12,000 men ; that of the Turks within the walls, I am convinced, never exceeded 9,000 men.”—*Green's Sketches*, p. 72.

ing out of the contest till the storming of Tripolizza, then, indeed, might there be something like a plausible pretext for a great deal of what has been said. But surely, every fact that has transpired, tends to prove, that the former considered it as a war of extermination from the very commencement, and that the whole of their conduct was influenced by this consideration.

“ It has been shown under what circumstances the insurrection commenced throughout Greece, and more especially in the Morea, where it was not in the first instance so much a rising in favour of freedom as a struggle for existence. But the motives of revenge were infinitely stronger at Tripolizza than in any other part of Greece : it has been the seat of government, and as such, the scene of innumerable atrocities ; not to mention a systematic plan of violence and spoliation, unequalled throughout the Ottoman dominions. Indeed, the Turks of this place had always been proverbial for their oppressions and irascible hatred to Christianity. The inhabitants of the surrounding villages were the first to flock down and co-operate in the siege. The exactions to which these unfortunate people and their ancestors had been subjected, could only be credited by those who have been long conversant with the system of rule towards Christians, in Mahometan countries. Can it be for one moment a matter of surprise, therefore, that persons that had been thus treated, were foremost in rushing into the city when they saw the standard of Christ displayed on the walls ; or that when once before the authors of their sufferings, the rude and uncultivated Greek peasant did what has been done in a thousand instances by the best disciplined troops of Europe ?”*

* Pursuant to the usual mode of governing in the dominions of the Sultan, as well as among the Barbary pirates, who are still permitted to pollute the beautiful regions of Northern Africa, it was customary to send large bodies of troops forth in various directions and at stated periods, to collect the tribute and capitation tax of the Morea. It would be scarcely possible to name any excess that was not committed during these predatory expeditions, which might in all respects be assimilated to those of an open enemy ; for the Turks on reaching a Greek village, would at once take possession of the houses, forcing the ill-fated inmates to supply whatever they possessed without the smallest compensation :—many were the fathers, who were drawn to Tripolizza for no other motive than to be avenged for the nameless robberies and violations which had been

“Leaving, however, the multifarious motives to vengeance on the part of the people untouched, what was the

perpetrated in the course of these journeys. Also a great number of the Greek women, who had experienced injuries that admit of no compensation short of personal vengeance. The story of one of these poor creatures may serve as a specimen: she had inhabited a neighbouring village, and lived in a state of comparative happiness with her husband, an honest and industrious peasant. Having in the course of her visits to the market of Tripolizza, excited the cupidity of a Turkish soldier, he left nothing untried to induce her compliance with his wishes. Being, however, foiled in his efforts, the infidel determined to gratify the predominant passion of Mussulmen revenge. Having in pursuance of this design, waylaid and murdered the husband, he followed up the horrible act, by placing the mangled head in such a situation, that it was the first object seen by his distracted wife on the following day. It was to demand justice against the perpetrator of this act, that the poor wretch presented herself at the head-quarters of Colocotroni, a few days after the assault.

The palace of the Bey at Tripolizza, was one of those which afforded the greatest facility for defence to the Turks. When the assault commenced, seven hundred of the infidels shut themselves up here, and continued to fire on the Greeks from the windows, until the latter were obliged to set it on fire to dislodge their opponents:—such was the horror in which this edifice was held, that the Greek peasantry rased the walls to the ground, rather than suffer the sight to offend their eyes, and remind them of those terrific scenes of which it had been the theatre.

While walking over the immense mass of ruins exhibited by this once stately pile, with my inestimable friend Alexis Lucopulo, one evening last summer, he suddenly stopped on a small platform of flags, opposite to that portion of the palace, where there had once been a balcony, from which the bey used to review the troops and witness executions. “It was here,” said my friend, “that the virtuous Lundo, primate of Vostizza, lost his head in the autumn of 1813; at once the most cruel and unprovoked murder ever committed by our Moslem tyrants.” On further inquiry, I found that Lundo had been a man of very great talents, and universally beloved, not only by his own countrymen, but also very popular among the infidels. He had rendered highly important services to the Porte; and was the confidential friend of Cheli bey, the person who ordered his assassination. Suspected of some partiality for his countrymen, in a question which arose between the inhabitants of a small town near Tripolizza, and the bey, Lundo was one day invited to take coffee with him at the palace, where he was consulted upon all occasions that advice was wanting. Mounting his horse—for he was allowed to ride one—the unsuspecting primate proceeded to obey the summons, and on reaching the platform, was dragged from the saddle, when the usual sign of the hand being given by Cheli, who sat smoking his pipe in the balcony, the head of Lundo

situation of the soldiery ? The defence of the Turks was at intervals extremely obstinate : they made several desperate sorties, in which numbers of the Greeks fell ; a capitulation had been repeatedly offered, and as often refused, until all hope of promised and expected relief was vain. As, during the attack at Malvasia, not a day passed without the recital of some new horrors committed by the infidels ; and it was only a short time before the assault, that the Capitan Pacha's fleet had entered the gulf of Lepanto, landed troops at Vostizza, Galaxidi and other points, to which they set fire, massacreing all the inhabitants who fell in their way.*

“ When the great privations to which both the peasantry and soldiers employed before Tripolizza, are considered ; unarmed† and exposed on the pinnacles of the mountains, where storms are frequent, without clothing or shelter of any kind, and not unfrequently deprived of food for whole days together, the feelings of irritation arising from such sufferings deserve the most serious attention. But it has been asked by the Greek chiefs, who most lament the excesses committed on this occasion, what would have been the certain consequences of a capitulation. What means did they possess, either to guard the Turks as prisoners, or send them out of the country ? A scarcity, bordering on famine, had already overspread the land ; Patras, Corinth, Modon, Corron, and Napoli di Romania were still in the hands of the en-

was instantly severed from his body, put into a sack, and forwarded to Constantinople.

The death of this illustrious victim still continues to be most deeply lamented throughout the Morea ; his two sons, one of whom is a military leader of the greatest eminence, and another, a member of the legislative body, are among the most popular citizens of the confederation.

* No conduct on the part of the Turkish soldiery can ever excuse the Greeks for having given up to indiscriminate slaughter the innocent with the guilty. But a fact mentioned by Mr. Green must have greatly heightened the indignation of the Greeks, and stimulated them to revenge on this occasion. “ It is reported, and I believe with truth,” says he, “ that before the city was taken, the Turks put to death two Greek archbishops, and several other persons, who had been detained as hostages, on the breaking out of the rebellion.” Now Mr. G. is always careful never to accuse the Turks of any crime of which they are not guilty.

† Few of the peasants who collected under the walls of Tripolizza, had any other arms than bludgeons or old ataghans. Nor would it have been easy to remedy this want, were it not for the success which attended their attacks on those who composed the sorties from the town.

emy: to crown all, a very formidable Turkish fleet was at sea, while a large squadron of Algerines were cruising among the islands of the Archipelago. In forming an opinion of this event, it should be recollected, that besides the difficulties which opposed every effort to establish discipline, there was no government formed; and that the Greek people were to all intents and purposes reduced to that situation in which men are no longer bound by any of the ties which control civilized communities.

“Admitting that none of those public writers, who either prompted or joined in the outcry which was raised after the fall of Tripolizza, were incompetent to argue the question, much less decide on its merits, surely there cannot be, on the other hand, any impropriety in comparing the excesses committed there with those which have marked the progress of all the wars that have desolated Europe during the last century, for it is needless to go any further back. Without entering into the subject at greater length, or citing the innumerable facts which might be brought forward, even from our own history, it may surely be safely asked, whether, when all the circumstances are taken into consideration, the aggregate excesses in Greece bear any comparison in point of wantonness and enormity with those which preceded the partition of Poland, or that occurred during the French revolution, and the wars to which it has given rise in almost every quarter of the globe? Would to God, that scenes of almost daily occurrence in the sister kingdom, did not also furnish proofs of what appalling crimes men can commit, when once brought to believe that the social compact is broken, and all notions of moderation or virtue are extinguished by a sense of their calamities.”*†

* “Those who so harshly judge the conduct of the Greeks at Tripolizza, and other points, would do well to recollect the battle of Agincourt, Siege of Magdeburgh, ravages in the Palatinate under Turenne, the treatment of the Scotch after the battle of Culloden, various events of the North American war, the massacres of both parties in Ireland, the assault of Jarnaul, Prague, and Belgrade; not to mention the many other instances of cruelty which stain the page of history.”

† Blaquiére, vol. 1. p. 131—154.

CHAPTER XV.

Progress of the war in Thessaly and Macedonia.—Battle of Fontana.—Relative Position of the contending Parties in Livadia.—Revolt in Eubœa.—Departure of the Capitana Bey from Constantinople:—His first Operations.—The Greek Vessels return to port.—A Turkish Squadron appears before Calamata.—The Fleet proceeds to Patras.—Expedition of Ipsilanti.—Calavrita.—Descent of the Infidels at Vostizza.—Attack and destruction of Galaxidi.—Heroism of the Inhabitants.—Intrepidity of two Greek Soldiers.—Ipsilanti returns to Tripolizza.—His entry and reception.—Appearance of the Town.—It is abandoned.—Congress convoked at Argos.—Project of taking Napoli di Romania by assault: it fails.—The Congress is transferred to Epidaurus.

“LEAVING the irritated victors (we continue to cite Mr. Blaquiere) amidst the smoking ruins of Tripolizza, it is now time to recur to the object of Prince Ipsilanti’s expedition, as well as to passing events at other points of the confederation.

“In the month of August, four Pachas advanced from the confines of Thessaly and Macedonia at the head of five thousand men, to Zetouni, where one of them died suddenly.—Their object was to force the straits of Thermopylæ, and uniting with the Ottoman troops at Thebes and Athens, to enter the Morea and relieve Tripolizza and the other fortresses. Odysseus* was posted with a small corps above the defiles on the high road to Livadia, at a place called Fontana, near the banks of the Asopus, and on the ancient site of Heraclea. The Pachas sent an advanced guard of three hundred horse in the first instance, to reconnoitre his position: this detachment having fallen into an ambuscade, was cut to pieces. On the following day the Turks assailed Odysseus with their whole force; the circumstances attending

* Called also Ulysseus, one of the most popular and warlike of the Albanian Capitanos. He was afterwards appointed Captain General of Eastern Greece.

this action, strongly demonstrate the little reliance that can be placed on irregular bands, and on what a slender thread their success or failure depends. At the first onset, the Christians gave way, and would soon have dispersed entirely, had not a valiant chief, named Gouraz, made a stand with only ten of his companions, calling out in the words of the patriarchal warriors, "to the spoil, O Greeks." Encouraged by his voice and example, they returned to the charge, and after a desperate struggle, the infidels were completely routed. According to the accounts of the victors, twelve hundred of the former were left dead on the field; the Ottomans acknowledged a loss of five hundred. One Pacha was slain; and several standards and pieces of cannon, a number of horses, and quantities of baggage, fell into the hands of the Greeks. This victory, which was achieved on the 31st of August, proved of great importance to the cause of the Patriots. Had the battle been lost, there is indeed no calculating what the consequences might have been. For nearly two months afterwards, the positions of the armies in Greece were various. At Zetouni and in front of Odysseus, were the remains of the Mussulman forces beaten on the 31st; in his rear was a Turkish division of three thousand men at Thebes; and the corps of Omer Vrioni at Athens, both of which had continual affairs of advanced posts at Dolreni and Dorbeni, with the Greeks who defended the Isthmus of Corinth. Two thousand Bæotian peasants occupied some points round the mountains of Thebes, while fifteen hundred armed Athenians held the Island of Salamis, and other parties were assembled on the hills of Attica.

"About the end of August, an insurrection broke out in Eubœa, headed by the Bishop of Carystus, who endeavoured to interrupt the communication between Athens and Negropont, and to cut off a Turkish detachment passing from the former to the last named place, with a convoy of valuable effects. But his followers taking to flight at the first fire, he was forced to escape to Hydra.

"It was on the 14th of August, that the grand Ottoman fleet quitted the Dardanelles, under the command of Kara Ali, the Capitana Bey, who was afterwards blown up by the Ipsariots at Scio. It consisted of thirty sail, of which four were of the line, and one a three decker. After an ineffectual attempt on the Island of Samos the Turkish admiral steered to the southward, pursued by one hundred and nine

Greek vessels.* The islanders, whose largest ships did not carry more than thirty guns, did not however seek an action

* The reader cannot but be amused and interested with the following description of the Turkish and Grecian navies. We borrow it from *Green's Sketches*, p. 63—68.

“The Turks can bring a hundred sail of armed vessels into action, though they have never produced more than fifty at once. The Tunisians, Tripolitans, and Algerines, have occasionally furnished about twenty vessels of war, consisting of corvettes, brigs, and schooners, well armed and manned, but these, though acting under the Turkish Admiral, in reality do just as they please. The Turkish naval force proper, or that which is furnished from the arsenal at Constantinople, consists of five or six three-deckers, six or eight seventy-fours, thirty frigates and corvettes, and between forty and fifty schooners and brigs. There is no regular marine, but whenever the ships are to be manned for any expedition, an impressment takes place. The press-gang run into the coffee and wine houses where the poorer orders resort, and seize all indiscriminately, without making the least inquiry as to their knowledge of naval tactics. Nay, people quietly walking the streets do not escape. A more efficient race of sailors, however, is found among the traders of the Black Sea, and the boatmen of the Bosphorus, and these are impressed without mercy.

“Before the Revolution broke out, the islands of Hydra and Spezzia were obliged to furnish a certain number of seamen whenever they should be called upon by the Porte so to do, and this was a condition of their being allowed to govern themselves. This will account for so many Greeks being found in the Turkish navy at the beginning of the war. Europeans also are never wanting, but it must be stated in justice to these, that many have been regularly trepanned into their service. There are a set of wine-houses at Constantinople, which are kept by Maltese and other Europeans, to which almost all the Frank sailors resort. The landlord goes to the Turkish Capoudan, and asks if he requires any Europeans, and if so, how many. The Capoudan states the number he wants, and generally pays down the money for them. The landlord then returns to the inn, finds out all the discontented sailors in the Porte, plies them well with liquor, and contrives to make them sign a regular agreement of service. As soon as this is effected, they are immediately conveyed on board ship, drunk as they are, and most especial care is taken that no opportunity of landing shall be afforded them, as long as the vessel remains in harbour. They have the same rations as the Turkish sailor, but wine, spirits, or grog, must be paid for extra, in fact in any way that the unfortunate Christian can. Every Turkish ship, however, has a regular coffee-house on board, at which all imaginable wants may be gratified: the keeper of this coffee-house is perhaps the very scoundrel who assisted in kidnapping the Europeans, or at least he has something to do with it. If the European has need of any thing, he is allowed to get it from the coffee-house on credit, and about two hundred per cent. on the value of the article is charged. The sailor, therefore, after

in the open sea, but sought an opportunity of separating the hostile fleet or attacking it with fire ships. The Turks

he has served several months, so far from having any pay to receive, is told that the whole is due to the coffee-house keeper, and that moreover he has a further debt to liquidate, which of course can only be done by further service. I have more than once been called upon officially, to liberate Englishmen who had been first kidnapped, and then cheated; and in some instances I have been successful, though in others the terms of agreement signed with the man's own hand has been shown me to prove that he was not forced into the Turkish service. The officers of the fleet are chosen from among the soldiery, and their nomination is a matter of interest resting in the hands of the Capoudan Pacha. Nautical skill may truly be said not to exist among the Turks, and any one who has had the good fortune to have sailed with the squadron which accompanied our fleet at the time of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, is thought a very Nelson. With such a crew it is matter of surprise how the Turks manage to navigate at all; but the fact is, that the vessel is sailed and steered by Europeans, while the fighting part belongs exclusively to the Turks. I have been told, and, from what I have seen, I can easily believe, that the confusion on board a Turkish vessel is absolutely ridiculous. One half of the men are, perhaps horribly sea-sick, sprawling about the deck; while the other half are pulling at ropes, of which they have no knowledge. The Chaouses are seen running here and there, bastinadoing right and left, and forcing the men to their duty. Indeed, the way in which the sailors are taught to handle and know the different ropes is, as I was informed, quite on a par with the rest of the system. Vegetables, pipes, pieces of cloth, &c. are attached to the rigging and the cordage, and then the command is given, "haul up the long pipe; let go the cabbage," &c. After the news was known of the destruction of a fine ship of war, by the fire-ships of the Greeks, the panic that seized the crew of a Turkish vessel on the approach of a Greek one was excessive. Sailors on board these have told me, that nothing could exceed the scene of confusion. The guns were fired without aim, and often on the side on which the enemy was not: the men were flying here and there, vociferating and running; many were preparing to jump overboard, and others absolutely did so. In fact, at the best of times, there is little discipline; but at such a juncture there is none. It was the knowledge of this that emboldened the small Greek vessels to approach and manœuvre round the heavy armed Turkish frigates with perfect impunity. A Greek vessel once approached a Turkish heavy frigate so close that the anchor of the latter caught hold of some part of the rigging of the former. In an instant both one and the other ran to cut away and disentangle themselves; the Greek not liking such close quarters, and the Turk taking his enemy to be a fire ship. Not a single shot was fired. The loquacious Greek was heard to vociferate the vilest abuse on the Turk and on Mahomet, while the grave Turk, on the other side, merely shook his finger, and invited him to fight it out hand to hand. A single broadside from an European, of half the weight of metal of the Turk, would have blown the Greek out of the water.

grown weary by experience, avoided exposing themselves to these destructive machines, taking care to keep in a close

“These scenes, however, occurred in the beginning of the revolution. Both their panic and their thorough want of skill have been bettered by experience, and in more than one instance a single Turkish vessel has fought its way through a whole Greek squadron.

“The Viceroy of Egypt, for some years past, has been gradually increasing his naval force, and his fleet now consists of at least sixty vessels of war. Of these, six or seven are frigates, which have been chiefly built in private dock-yards at Marseilles, Leghorn, and Trieste; the others consist of corvettes, brigs, and schooners, and, with few exceptions, the whole of these vessels are of a very superior class, and in excellent order. In action, and in the management of their vessels, the Egyptians have proved themselves infinitely superior to the Constantinople Turks; but this, no doubt, is owing in a great measure to the fact of there being many foreign seamen in the Viceroy's service, who form part of the crew of each vessel.

“Such is the Turkish naval power: The Greek remains now to be described.

“Five-and-twenty years ago, the present populous towns of Hydra and Spezzia were two small fishing villages. About this time the coasts of Spain and France were blockaded by our vessels; the Hydriots speculated, and sent in small craft with corn to the blockaded station; and the immense profits they realized soon induced them to extend their risks. Their Admiral, Tombazi, whom I knew, informed me, that he was the first to get an American ship as a model, and from this, his countrymen constructed those vessels which have subsequently been converted into armed ones. In a few years, almost the whole of the corn-trade of the Black Sea was in the hands of the Greeks, and the inhabitants of Hydra and Spezzia became enormously rich. At the breaking out of the revolution, this profitable trade ceased, and their vessels returned to their respective islands without delay. With the exception of four or five three-masted polaccos, and six or eight schooners, the whole of the vessels belonging to Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, are rigged as polacca brigs, their size varying from a hundred and fifty to five hundred tons, being pierced for twelve to twenty guns. I am unable to state the exact number of vessels belonging to these three islands at the period above alluded to, but only forty or fifty were armed and equipped during the first months of the revolution: and at no one period does it appear that the Greek naval force sent to sea, ever exceeded eighty vessels.

“The Greek vessels, with few exceptions, have been built from beautiful models, and sail remarkably fast: their crews have all the capabilities of good seamen, except that essential one—discipline. There are several Capitani on board, and each man has as much voice in the direction of the vessel as the Captain himself. This, therefore, gives rise to great confusion; but in the management of their vessels, they are infinitely superior to the Turks.

“Respecting the Greek marine, however, I conceive that an er-

body and always under sail. They had now a number of European seamen, chiefly natives of Malta and Genoa, on board the fleet. These men, of whom there are a great many generally idle at Constantinople, were allured more by the hope of pecuniary advantages than any interest in the struggle, which was indeed a matter of perfect indifference to them. The Greek sailors, with a spirit of impatience which has often proved prejudicial to their cause, obliged their chiefs to return to port, so that all their exploits during this cruise, were limited to burning a few Turkish transports on the coast of Anatolia. A single fast sailing schooner, commanded by a brother of the Hydriot Admiral Tombasi, was left to watch the enemy's movements ; but she returned to Hydra on the 3d of September, bringing intelligence, that the Capitana Bey, reinforced by the Egyptian and Algerine squadrons, had passed the island of Cos, on his way to Candia. This information proved erroneous, as Kara Ali steered direct for the Peloponnesus, and supplied Coron and Modon with provisions. His appearance on the southern shore of the Morea, created general consternation. Some of his smaller vessels having approached Calamata, the military commandant and garrison prepared to fly to the mountains, but were encouraged to remain by the example of the brave Balisto, who drew up his weak battalion, in order of battle, upon the strand, partially covered by some sand hills, and caused his trumpet and drums to sound, while a body of one thousand Mainotes fired a general volley of musketry from behind the rocks. The pusillanimous Turks, disheartened by this show of resistance, sheered off, without daring to disembark :—while thus employed, Balisto learned that the people of Calamata were about to despatch the Mussulman prisoners confined there ; he instantly flew to the town with a party of soldiers, arrived in time to prevent the act ;

erroneous opinion generally exists in Europe, as, with the exception of the Hydriots and Spezziots, experience has taught me, that the Greeks are far from being experienced sailors. Few even of the Captains of those two islands have studied navigation, and that to a very limited extent ; their ignorance, in this respect, being obviated by the circumstance of their rarely navigating out of sight of land. During fine weather they manage their vessels and small craft very well, and even expertly ; but in a squall or gale of wind, especially during the night, they generally lose all self-possession, the greatest confusion prevails, incense is burnt, the Virgin invoked, and every endeavour made to run the vessel into the nearest port for shelter.

and then returned to his post on the beach. The loss of this excellent officer, who died gloriously in Crete, on the field of battle, in 1822, was a great misfortune to the Greek cause. Born in that island, of French parents, and habituated to war under Napoleon, he spoke the language of Greece fluently, exercised considerable influence over the people, and was capable of rendering the most eminent services.*

“ From Modon, the Capitana Bey sailed to Patras ; three thousand Achians and Ionians blocked up that place on the land side, while some light vessels prevented supplies from entering by sea. The latter fled on the appearance of the fleet, taking shelter either at Galaxidi, or running on the shallows of Missolonghi, where they were burned by the Turkish boats. Kara Ali, having arrived in the roads, made a discharge of his artillery upon the Greek camp, and the garrison sallied forth at the same time : a single post of two hundred men offered a slight resistance ; the rest of the besiegers dispersed themselves in the mountains, leaving the few pieces of cannon they had in the power of the Turks. This was the event which induced Ipsilanti to quit the walls of Tripolizza for the purpose of re-establishing the blockade, as well as obviating the consequences of such a defeat. The troops destined to accompany him, amounting to about seven hundred men, marched in two columns ; the first, consisting of five hundred of the militia at Caritena, left the camp on the 24th of September, under the orders of two sons and a nephew of Colocotroni. The Prince himself, accompanied by Mr. Gordon and his own staff, the battalion of Balisto, which had just arrived from Calamata, not exceeding two hundred men and officers, and a few artillery-men, having one mounted gun, a light brass four pounder, set out on the following day. On the 28th, both divisions formed a junction at Calavrita. This town, of four hundred houses, the ancient Cynethus, is seated in a fine valley among the mountains, and in a central point, whence roads branch off to Patras, Corinth, and Tripolizza. The advantages of its position engaged the Prince to suspend his march to Patras ; whither he despatched an aid-de-camp, until he should receive intelligence of the enemy’s movements. Indeed, his presence before that fortress was no longer necessary, as the

* Mr. Gordon, under whose direction, as chief of the staff, Balisto was frequently employed, bears the highest testimony to his merits as a patriot and a soldier.

Turks had not attempted to improve their victory, and the Greeks were beginning to recover from their panic; seven hundred having re-assembled in the mountains, they were soon increased to more than double that number. On the night of the 29th, a messenger arrived in breathless haste, bringing information that the Sultan's forces had landed at Vostizza, only a few leagues from Calavrita, and having burned the town, were advancing into the interior. Ipsilanti instantly took his measures with great judgment, and at day break on the 30th, marched to meet the enemy. His little army, reinforced by some militia of Calavrita, and now amounting to nearly a thousand men, with one field piece, was in high spirits, and extremely well disposed to fight. But a second messenger met the Prince on his way, and stated that the enemy had re-embarked, after committing various excesses, and carrying off a large flock of sheep found near Vostizza. Approaching the coast, Ipsilanti took post for the night on a lofty eminence between the plain and the sea, adopting such precautions as were necessary to prevent a surprise: for the Ottoman squadron of one frigate and thirty brigs was seen at anchor near the shore, and it was known that the Pacha of Egypt had sent fifteen hundred Albanians, who passed for good troops. The 1st of October was stormy and rainy, but on the mist clearing away about noon, the Turkish vessels were perceived to weigh anchor and steer to the north-east. There could be no doubt that their first object was the attack of Galaxida, but well founded apprehensions were entertained with regard to their ulterior operations. The wind was blowing steadily from the north-west, and a few hours might carry them to the head of the Gulf of Corinth. It was nearly certain that, if they landed troops there, the fifteen hundred Greeks blockading the Acropolis would fly to the hills, when the other troops employed to defend the Isthmus would be exposed to a double attack in front and rear: or the Turkish division at Thebes might, in one long march, reach the fort of Livadostro, and be thence transported by their own shipping into the Morea, thus turning the defiles; while Omer Vrioni was ready to co-operate from Eleusis. Indeed, none but the Turks could have been blind to the advantages of such a plan, or so timid as not to attempt its execution. But recollecting that he had no right to calculate on the faults of an enemy, however ignorant, the Prince resolved to advance towards Corinth with all speed.

“The small commercial town of Galaxidi, on the shore of Ozolian Locris, is situated within the Bay of Cyrrha, and near its entrance. The principal wealth of its industrious inhabitants consisted in a number of small trading vessels. Aware that their vigilance in blockading Lepanto had rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the barbarians, they had made preparations for defence, by erecting a battery on an islet at the harbour’s mouth, and mooring their little flotilla in line before the town. The women and children were sent to Salona, so that none but combatants remained. On the evening of the 1st of October, the Ottoman squadron took up its position and summoned the Galaxidoes to surrender. But, regardless of the vast disparity of force, the latter answered by firing on the boat which brought the message. The Turks immediately began the attack, and battered the place for two hours, when night put an end to the action. It was renewed at day-break and lasted for three hours more. Ipsilanti and his staff were on a height on the opposite side of the gulf, anxiously watching the issue of the battle; a tongue of land concealed the fleet and town from their view, but the cannonade from so many pieces of heavy artillery was tremendous; at length it suddenly ceased, when a mingled cloud of flame and black smoke ascended to heaven, and told but too surely the fate of Galaxidi. After opposing a most gallant resistance to such a prodigious superiority, both in numbers, guns, and weight of metal, the brave inhabitants fled to the mountains of Salona, having previously destroyed their vessels and batteries. The Turks hesitated to land, but the Algerines, stimulated by the hopes of plunder, jumped into their boats and rowed to the beach. The town was then pillaged, and being set on fire, its blazing ruins continued for two or three successive nights to shed a lurid and melancholy light over the waters of Lepanto.

“The army of Ipsilanti witnessed a trait of heroism on this occasion which ought not to be passed over in silence. An earnest wish was entertained at the head-quarters of the Prince, to open a correspondence with the leading men in the opposite districts of Roumelia, but no bark could be found: upon which two soldiers of Balisto’s division, formerly sailors by profession, boldly offered to cross the gulf on a raft, thus exposing themselves both to the waves and the enemy’s vessels: when offered a reward, their reply was, that they deserved none, and would undertake the duty, not

from the hope of gain, but to serve their country. A letter was accordingly prepared, and they were on the point of setting out, when the wind became so strong, and the sea so rough, that it was not considered safe to allow these intrepid men to carry the design into effect.

“After witnessing the destruction of Galaxidi, Ipsilanti proceeded by forced marches towards the Isthmus: on the 2d he slept at Akrata, and on the next night, at Hylocastro. The wind having changed to the east, the Turkish fleet stood down the gulf again in its way to Patras, and under a press of sail. All immediate cause of apprehension being thus removed, the Prince went on to Basilico on the 4th, and halted there for some days, amidst the ruins of the ancient Sycion. It was here that he received intelligence of the fall of Tripolizza. From thence he proceeded to Hexamilia and Kanchra, where he held a conference with the officers to whom the care of guarding the Isthmus was entrusted. In passing before Corinth, he sent a written summons to the garrison of the Acropolis, stating what had passed at Tripolizza, and containing a menace, that if they did not surrender, a similar fate awaited themselves, as they would be stormed and put to the sword. Such a threat, addressed to an impenetrable fortress, having provisions for three months, could not be expected to produce much effect. The Turks made no answer at the time, but replied the next day, by firing some cannon shot at Ipsilanti's column as it passed on its way to St. Basil, by a road which the Acropolis ought at all times completely to command.

“Having halted a day or two at Argos, and visited the posts round Napoli di Romania, Demetrius made his entry into the capital of the Morea on the 15th of October, amidst very great demonstrations of joy, and attended by a large body of troops who went out to meet him. Nothing could be more deplorable than the appearance of the town; not a single door lock, and scarcely a nail was left—the Mainotes having carried off every thing of that description. The plunder was carried home on the backs of their wives, who came down in great numbers for this purpose from their native fortresses. Ipsilanti had intended to appropriate the lead which covered the mosques to the public service, but it had all been stripped off. When every other portable article was gone, the peasants were seen driving away their asses loaded with doors and window shutters. Of the immense booty nothing was assigned to the exigencies of the nation, except

the artillery : every thing else became private property—most of the chiefs and primates enriched themselves ; the Prince alone sternly refused to convert any thing to his own use. The streets were incumbered with dead bodies ; even the houses were filled with the slain of either party ; while the mountaineers and shepherds, accustomed to dwell in rocks and woods, had now established their bivouacs amidst the broken fragments of oriental luxury. Fires broke out in the town every night, and the prince himself was burnt out of his quarters a few days after his arrival. The only thing that occupied the Greeks, was the unequal manner in which the spoils had been shared. Complaints were heard on every side, and while some wished to conceal their gains, others murmured loudly at being defrauded of a fair portion. Ipsilanti's first object was to put an end to the great confusion that prevailed. He certainly succeeded in restoring some degree of order, but this was chiefly owing to the breaking up of the army, which gradually dispersed and melted away, carrying into the farthest corners of the Peloponnesus those discontents and heartburnings, the seeds of which were sown at the sacking of Tripolizza.—There now remained only the regular troops, consisting of one battalion of infantry, and a company of artillery, with the retinue of some captains ; a force scarcely sufficient to guard the Turkish prisoners. The Greeks had always pointed to the reduction of this place, as the period when disorder and anarchy were to cease, and be replaced by a regularly organized system of government.—It had now fallen, and such were the difficulties opposed to this most desirable object, that the event seemed only to have embittered the dissensions of the leading men. Perceiving that his plans of amelioration were opposed with scarcely less pertinacity than before, and his influence every day declining, Ipsilanti resolved to submit all the disputed points to a national congress, which was summoned to meet at Tripolizza. But a contagious disease, caught probably from the Turks, and aggravated by the great number of putrifying carcases, broke out there in the beginning of November, and spread with such rapidity, that it was found necessary to abandon the place altogether for a short time. The assembly was therefore convoked at Argos, where the Prince repaired to attend the deliberations.

“ In the meanwhile, deputies arrived from different parts of Greece, charged to demand succours from the government

of the Peloponnesus, and to give an account of what was passing in their respective districts.

“ The news from Macedonia excited most attention, as the campaign there did not, as yet, wear a hopeless aspect. Allusion has already been made to the insurrection at Salonica, and the retreat of the Greeks into the peninsula of Cassandra, where they threw up intrenchments, and cut a ditch across the Isthmus. The adjacent promontories of Torone and Mount Athos was also in a state of revolt, and each contained several thousand armed men. It is well known that the woody and romantic crags of Athos are studded with Greek monasteries which enjoy certain chartered privileges: one of these, is an exemption from the presence of Turkish troops. A single Aga residing at Kares, conducts the civil administration in concert with a monastic council. The convents, very difficult of access, are fortified and even provided with artillery, to resist the attacks of pirates. Not long before his martyrdom, the patriarch had dispatched a very learned and estimable Albanian physician to the Holy Mountain, with instructions to persuade the monks to remain quiet, and take no part in the existing troubles. But this emissary, on his arrival, found that the violent measures of the Turks had already driven the religious community into rebellion. The Pacha of Salonica begun by summoning them to deliver up their arms, and receive an Ottoman garrison; and scarcely waiting for a reply, caused a great number of servants who cultivated their estates in the open country, to be seized and publicly executed. Thus pressed, the monks took a decisive resolution, refused to obey the orders of the Pacha, imprisoned their governor, whom they however treated with the utmost mildness, and co-operated with the forces at Potidea and Torone.

“ During the summer and autumn, the Macedonian Turks sent two expeditions against the intrenchments of Cassandra, and were twice repulsed. On the second occasion, the Christians, by a vigorous sally, possessed themselves of nine pieces of heavy artillery. They were, however, much distressed for want of grain and ammunition, having received only some scanty supplies from the Hydriots, and therefore demanded assistance from the Peloponnesians. It happened most unfortunately, that while the affair was in agitation, the new Pacha of Salonica, who had brought up an overwhelming force, succeeded completely in a fresh attack. Cassandra was taken by storm on the 12th of November, and

its garrison put to the sword, as a matter of course. Soon after this event, Mount Athos capitulated.

“ A deputation from Mount Olympus reached Tripolizza, about the middle of October, stating that seven thousand Macedonians were prepared to rise in the southern parts of that country, and demanding cannon, gunpowder, and officers. Two six inch mortars were given to them, but scarcely had these pieces been landed at Ekatarina, than they were seized by a party of Turks. The projected insurrection, however, took place, and has continued with various success ever since.

“ In the Peloponnesus, there were but two points at which hostilities were prosecuted with any degree of vigour : these were Patras and Napoli di Romania. The Capitana Bey having thrown supplies into the fortresses on the coast, and added the squadron that had been employed against Ali Pacha, and which had not hitherto dared to quit Prevesa, to his own fleet ; exulting, besides, in the success of his officers at Galaxidi, he prepared to return to the Dardanelles, immediately after the destruction of that town. Passing before the island of Zante, with nearly eighty sail, he had the fairest opportunity that could have offered, of destroying twenty-two Greek vessels land-locked under the point of Chiarenza. But this gallant commander, whose valour and abilities were a theme of frequent eulogium in the official journal of Austria, did not even make the attempt. After firing a few distant broadsides, to intimidate the enemy, he cast anchor in the bay of Zante, and having obtained a supply of provisions from his agents there, quietly proceeded towards the Hellespont. On his departure, the Peloponnesians renewed their attacks against Patras. The besieging force having been considerably swelled by reinforcements from Arcadia and Elis, was joined by Prince Mavrocordato, and young Caradja, who brought over some pieces of ordnance, and a quantity of muskets, from Missolonghi. Towards the end of October, the town was carried by assault, and the garrison once more forced to retire into the citadel. The Greeks displayed a good deal of courage in this affair, and experienced a considerable loss. Having occupied the minarets, and entrenched themselves in the houses, they kept up a continued fire of musketry against the ramparts of the castle, which the Turks answered from their great guns.— Unhappily, the vigilance of the assailants was not equal to their bravery. It was impossible to induce them to take

proper measures for preventing a surprise, and this negligence exposed them to a bitter affront. Isouf Pacha had retreated into the castle of the Morea, which with one, on the opposite coast of Romelio, defends the entrance of the Gulf of Lepanto, and the strait known by the name of the Little Dardanelles. Quitting this place on the 15th of November at noon, with only four hundred horse and foot, and marching in the rear of the Greeks, Isouf was not perceived until he entered the gates, and commenced an attack. The garrison of the citadel immediately sallied, and after a short and tumultuary conflict in the streets, the Christians were entirely routed. Mavrocordato and Caradja, escaped with difficulty to a boat which conveyed them back to Missolonghi; their cannon, baggage, and a magazine containing fifteen hundred muskets, fell into the hands of the Turks.— This action did honour to the vigour and military talents of Isouf Pacha; and it was the third time he had raised the siege of Patras, by completely dispersing the corps by which it was invested. He is son to the famous Ishmael, Bey of Seres, who, from an Albanian robber, raised himself almost to the condition of an independent prince.

“Ipsilanti had another object in view, in going to Argos, besides presiding over the deliberations of Congress. He wished to push the siege of Napoli di Romania. Colonel Voutier, a French officer who then commanded the Greek artillery, had been actively engaged at Tripolizza in making preparations; but the means of attacking so strong a fortress were lamentably deficient. A plan was suggested to the Prince for carrying it by assault. This was adopted, and measures taken in consequence, for re-assembling the army. To effect this the more expeditiously, a report was circulated, that Napoli was on the point of capitulating, sure that the hope of sharing its spoils, would attract the peasants from all quarters; and not less than twelve thousand of them were in fact said to have passed through Argos in a few days after. Scaling ladders were accordingly prepared, and on the night of the 15th of December, every thing being ready, the troops and ships of war having taken up their respective stations, the following arrangements were made. Nikitas, with five hundred men, was to scale the walls on the east side: a hundred and fifty European volunteers, with Balisto's corps, were to support his attack, and one company of the battalion, under the orders of Mr. Justin, also a Frenchman, was destined to assail the Palamida, seated on a moun-

tain, which looks down on the town, commanded both the sea and adjacent plain. This was, however, only meant as a demonstration, to divert the attention of the Turks. Yathracos, chief of the contingent from Mistra, was in reserve. One hundred sail of vessels, and fifty armed boats, were to co-operate by attacking the fort. Three thousand Hydriotes and Spezziotes were embarked on board the boats with intention to land. This project, too bold and complicated for the Greeks, and presenting but slender chances of success, was only executed in part. The columns were put in motion on the 16th, at one o'clock in the morning: that of Nikitas and Balisto, carried the scaling ladders to within two yards of the ditch, and remained there for nearly an hour, waiting the signal of attack, without being perceived by the Turks, although the moon was shining with great brilliancy. At length the Mussulmen began to give some signs of life, by sounding their rude military music, which was soon followed by a brisk discharge of cannon and musketry. Ipsilanti then caused the signal to be given; but the Greeks, after a general volley, which only served to show the enemy where the men had retired behind the rocks, subsequently dispersed themselves over the plain. The fleet did not make any attack, neither did Colocotroni; each party waiting till the other should begin. Balisto, with the French and German volunteers, and a part of his own battalion, remained for a considerable time exposed to a hot fire, not more than fifty paces from the ramparts, and then fell back slowly, and in good order. The Turks, emboldened by the retreat of their adversaries, made a sortie, repulsed Justin's party, which had kept its ground after the flight of Colocotroni's division, seized the scaling ladders, and bore them off in triumph. The result of this affair ought to have convinced the Greeks how imprudent it is to attempt great or perilous enterprises, with raw troops, unaccustomed to brave danger. Fortunately, the loss of the assailants was trifling, and fell almost exclusively on the foreign auxiliaries and Balisto's troops—these two corps had thirty men killed and wounded.

“After the above check, Prince Demetrius went to Argos, where frequent meetings of the deputies, who had collected there from various points of the confederation, took place at his quarters: these continued until the arrival of Mavrocordato, whose presence, however, produced an immediate diminution in the number of Ipsilanti's visitors: nor did many days elapse, before it was evident that he regard

ed the former as a rival. Despairing, therefore, of being able to carry his plans into effect, and not wishing to expose himself to further humiliation, his whole attention was now directed to the progress of the war, and he departed soon after for Corinth, accompanied by Kiamel Bey, through whose influence, it was hoped, that place would shortly surrender.

“Owing to the vicinity of Argos to Napoli di Romania, and the consequent interruption which might be occasioned by the operations of the siege, it was determined, after some preliminary arrangements, that the more important deliberations of the Congress should be held at Epidaurus, in the Gulf of Egina; to which place the members accordingly repaired early in December, attended by Prince Mavrocordato, and several other military leaders of distinction.”*

A very serious disturbance took place at Zante in the month of November.

“It seems, that on the 12th ultimo, an engagement took place off Zante, between an Algerine brig, belonging to the Turkish fleet, and a squadron of eighteen Greek vessels. The Algerine vessel had been separated from the fleet, and surrounded by the Greek squadron. Finding it impossible to beat off so superior a force, she kept up a running fight, steering towards the land, which having approached sufficiently near, an attempt was made to anchor, but from mismanagement, or the nature of the ground, did not succeed, and the vessel was run on shore in Cheri Bay, on the south side of the island, about four miles from the town. Thousands of the inhabitants, and refugee Moriote Greeks, had collected on the neighbouring heights, to witness the engagement, part of whom were armed with pistols, guns, and knives. As soon as the Algerine brig was stranded, the Greek squadron bore away, and the crew commenced landing on a raft, but on their approaching the shore the inhabitants fired on them. A detachment of eighteen men of the eighth regiment had been sent out in the morning by Lieut. Colonel Duffy, the Resident, to prevent the Turks breaking quarantine regulations, in case they landed; this party was commanded by Lieut. Hill, assisted by Lieut. Wright, of the Royal Engineers. Staff Surgeon Thomas, President of the Health Office, whose immediate duty it was to have superintended the proceedings, was confined to his bed through

* Blaquiere, p. 100—176.

fever. The Zantiots being in a state of open insurrection, and having fired on the Turks, Lieut. Hill, thought it right to endeavour to intimidate them, and ordered two soldiers to advance before the others, and discharge their muskets in the air, whereupon the Zantiots instantly fired on the military, and wounded a soldier. Seeing the impossibility of resisting so many thousand armed men, and being in want of ball cartridges, Lieutenant Wright advised a retreat to a neighbouring height and house, where a position might be taken by the party : on their retiring for this purpose, the Zantiots pursued and fired on them, the wounded soldier was again struck by a ball, which killed him, and his body was abandoned. Lieut. Wright was severely wounded in the thigh, in the act of entering the house, where the detachment succeeded in defending themselves. Reports of these events having reached the town, a company of fifty men were instantly sent out to the scene of action ; they relieved the detachment which was surrounded by the Zantiots, who even had the temerity to oppose resistance to the reinforcement, but dispersed precipitately, after two vollies from the soldiers, leaving two or three killed, and carrying away several wounded. The body of the soldier was discovered to have been outraged in the most barbarous manner, his breast bone beaten in, accoutrements plundered, &c. The crew of the Algerine vessel were escorted to the Lazaretto near the town, where they remained until embarked on board the Turkish fleet, which arrived two days afterwards in the harbour. The stranded vessel soon went to pieces ; some of her brass guns, spars, and ropes were subsequently saved and lodged in the government stores, and some months afterwards were sent to the government at Constantinople.

“ Martial law was proclaimed, and despatches sent off to the seat of government. Sir Frederick Adam was Lord High Commissioner, *pro tempore*, in the absence of Sir Thomas Maitland ; he came to Zante without delay, caused two regiments to be sent from the other islands, and directed all the naval force on the station to proceed here. Sir Frederick Adam ordered a general disarming of the inhabitants, and about forty thousand guns, pistols, and blunderbusses, was delivered up by their owners into the government stores in the castle. Detachments of troops were still scouring the interior ; but the people seem to have completely returned to their senses, and offer no opposition to any of the

public orders. Five individuals were hanged, and their bodies gibbeted on the hills, surrounding the town and harbour: they were convicted by a court-martial of having been present at the time the troops were fired on, and of taking an active part in the insurrection. Several persons known to be disaffected to the government, were likewise arrested, and placed in the castle. In short, such measures were adopted and enforced, that there was no fear of a recurrence of such disagreeable events. The Zantiots were led away by their enthusiasm for the Greek cause, and encouraged by the lenity observed towards them by the government on former occasions; the severe and prompt example now made, will show how dangerous and fatal such acts of rebellion must inevitably prove.”*



CHAPTER XVI.

Congress of Epidaurus.—Deputies assembled there.—Promulgation of the Political Code.—Address to the People.—Nominations of President and Ministers.—Military operations before Corinth.—Duplicity of Kiamil Bey.—Panouria of Salona.—Retirement of the Albanians.—Surrender of the Acrocorinthus.—The Seat of Government is established at Corinth.—General state of the Confederation.—Arrival of Prince Mavrocordato.—Decrees of the Executive.—Military organization.—Disposal of the Forces.—Proclamation to the People.—Catastrophe at Scio, and reflections suggested by that event.—Destruction of the Capitan Pacha.—Fire ships.

1822. “The assemblage of a Congress at Epidaurus,” (we borrow from Mr. Blaquiere,) “has been justly regarded as a new era in the Greek Revolution, and were there any doubts as to the real cause of many of those disorders which occurred before this event took place, they would be removed, by merely marking the subsequent character assumed by the war, as well as the affairs of the confederation generally.

“The anxiety of all classes to witness the formation of a government, was strongly evinced in the eagerness with

* Green's Sketches, p. 76—79.

which deputies were elected throughout the country and sent to Argos. Besides Prince Mavrocordato and the military chiefs, the number of representatives who had reached Epidaurus by the middle of December exceeded sixty, consisting of ecclesiastics, landed proprietors, merchants, and civilians, who had for the most part received a liberal education in the west of Europe.

“ The first act of a Congress thus met, to re-establish institutions, which may be said to have ceased with the Roman conquest, about twenty-one centuries before, was that of naming a commission, including the most enlightened members, to draw up a political code: the remainder being occupied in examining into the general state of the nation, ascertaining its resources, and devising the best mode of commencing the second campaign, with proper effect.

“ Although the declaration of independence* was sent forth on the first of January, and the draft of a Constitution presented at the same time, yet, as the various articles required examination and discussion, it was not promulgated till the 27th, when the code passed into a law, and was solemnly proclaimed amidst the acclamations of the deputies, soldiery and people. Notwithstanding the imperfections inseparable from a work thus hastily prepared, it has been much admired for its moderation and firmness, while the framers, greatly to their credit, knew how to avoid more than one glaring error with which the publicists of Europe have reproached the Spanish Constitution of 1812. Aware of the difficulty of their task; and convinced moreover, that a perfect system of legislation can only be the work of time and perseverance, the Greek code was wisely left open to the improvement and revision, which the genius of the people, and future experience, should render necessary. While all the objections that might have been urged against the form of government, are obviated by the simple precaution of its being styled “provisional;” the promulgation of the code, was accompanied by an address to the people of Greece, setting forth the motives for shaking off the Turkish yoke, and containing a triumphant reply to those who had confounded their cause with that of other countries.”

By the constitution,† the established religion of Greece is

* For this memorable instrument, as well as several other important state papers, see Appendix.

† Modern Traveller, Part II. p. 148.

declared to be that of the Orthodox Eastern Church, with full toleration of all other forms of worship. The government is composed of a Senate, and an executive body. The Senators to be chosen annually. The executive power is composed of five members, taken from the legislative body, and the President and Vice-President are annual officers. The judicial power formed of eleven members, chosen by the government, is declared to be independent of both the senate and the executive. Civil and criminal justice is to be regulated according to the legislation of the Greek emperors; and with respect to all mercantile affairs, the French commercial code is to have the force of law in Greece.* Such are the leading features of the Greek constitution, which, upon the whole, reflects great credit on its authors by its moderation and enlightened spirit.† Its grand defect is that, in common with all republican theories, it imposes shackles on the executive power, scarcely compatible with an efficient discharge of the functions of government, more especially under the exigencies of such a contest.‡ All ex-

* The Greek code referred to is known under the name of the *Basilics*, and was the work of the emperors, Basil I., Leon the Philosopher, his son, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, his grandson.—See GIBBON, c. xlviii. This code had not altogether ceased to be in force among the Greeks. The French commercial code was first established in some of the maritime towns of the Levant in 1817, the permission of the Turkish government having been obtained by purchase by the Greek merchants. Two Greek translations of this code have been published; one at Constantinople, the other at Paris, in 1820.

† “Article 2 secures to every individual of the Christian faith, whether a native or naturalized foreigner, an equal enjoyment of every political right; a liberality which the Spanish revolutionists either did not possess nor durst not display. Article 46 gives every periodical writer a free entry in the sittings of the legislative body; an enactment more liberal, however, than prudent or convenient during a national struggle. Not only torture, but confiscation, is abolished by Article 99; and by Article 107, the government charges itself with providing for the widows and orphans of those who die in defending their country.”

‡ “No declaration of war, nor any treaty of peace, can be made without the participation of the senate. In like manner, every agreement, of whatever nature, between the executive and a foreign power, must be previously approved by the Senate, except in the case of a very short armistice.”—Article 40. And even in such case, the executive is under the obligation of communicating it to the senate.—Article 77. “The senate has the right of approving a military promotion which the government proposes.”—Article 42. “It is likewise entitled to decree, on the proposal of govern

perience proves that a state is in more danger, at such a crisis, from the cabals of a faction, than from the ascendancy of any too powerful citizen. It has been proposed to concentrate the executive power in a triennial president, and to make the senate re-eligible every other year. The rejection of this plan discovered an unseasonable jealousy on the part of the national representatives; and the issue has shewn how much easier it is to frame a constitution than to create a government. Up to the present time, the Greeks may be said to be without a ruler, for the executive has not been invested with the power to rule. That power, it would seem, must either originate in usurpation, or in concessions made in the hour of public danger, by people willing to compromise their rights in order to obtain efficient protection.

“The office of president of the executive body was conferred by the congress upon Prince Mavrocordato, whose talents and extensive information were eminently displayed in aiding the commission appointed to draw up the constitution.* Demetrius Ipsilanti was invited to preside over the senate, but he declined the proffered honour, having, it is supposed, conceived himself to be entitled to fill the highest station :

ment, the distinguished recompenses due to patriotic services.”—Art. 43. “It is to settle a new system of money to be struck at the national mint, under the direction of government.—Art. 44. “The senate is expressly forbidden to accede to any transaction which threatens the political existence of the nation. On the contrary, if it perceives the executive engaged in negotiations of this nature, the senate is to prosecute the president, and after his condemnation, to declare his charge forfeited in the face of the nation.”—Art. 45. By articles 63 and 64, the executive is authorised to contract loans, and to pledge the national property for them, “consulting the senate;” and to alienate, under the same condition, a portion of this property, according to the wants of the state. By Art. 83. it is provided, that “as soon as an accusation against one of the members of the executive is received, the accuser is considered as stripped of his office,” and his trial is to proceed. Thus, the nominal inviolability of the executive power, “taken collectively,” (Art. 54) is completely nullified; and the senate, by reserving to themselves the legal attributes of levying war, approving of military promotion, and settling the mintage, is in fact, the fountain of honour as well as the depository of all real power.

Mavrocordato's name is affixed to the provisional constitution as President of the Congress. Then follow the names of Adam Douca, (Dacas,) Athan, Canacaris, Alexander Naxius, Alexis Zimpouropoulo, and fifty-four others, among which occur those of Germanus, archbishop of Patras, the bishops of Litza and Agrafa, Toumbosi, and Talantium, Th. Negri, J. Logotheti, J. Orlando, Petro Bey Mavromichali, J. Colitti, &c.

and the office was bestowed on Petro Bey Mavromichali. The other members of the central government were Athanasius Canacari, vice-president, Anagnosti Pappaianopoulos, John Orlando, and John Logotheti. Theodore Negri was appointed first secretary of state.

Having decided on the civil and political rights of the nation, the next object of Congress was to select five members to form an executive ; and in order that still greater effect might be given to the measures of the new government, ministers were named to superintend the various departments of war, finance, public instruction, interior, and police ; a commission of three individuals from Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, was also appointed to direct the naval affairs.

“ While the National Congress were pursuing their arduous labours at Epidaurus, the capture of Corinth became an object of increasing solicitude and importance to the executive. A large force was therefore collected before that place, but such is the impregnable nature of its position, that every effort was made to induce the garrison, whose number did not exceed six hundred, to capitulate. It was to facilitate this object, that Kiamil Bey had been brought from Tripolizza. Owing to their great wealth and consequent means of bribery, the family of this Turk had governed Corinth, and the surrounding districts, for nearly a century ; and from their influence at Constantinople, every succeeding heir considered his claim to the government as an hereditary right ; nor was there any part of the Morea in which the Greek population were so much exposed to extortion and tyranny. Happening to be absent when the insurrection broke out, Kiamil Bey took refuge at Tripolizza, leaving his family at Corinth. Anxious to save them, no sooner had the capital fallen, than he affected to become a warm advocate of the Greek cause, drank to its success at the table of Ipsilanti, and even promised to induce the garrison to surrender if he was only permitted to approach the walls. Now that this favour had been accorded, the cunning Mussulman, who was secretly informed of the preparations of Chourschid Pacha at Albania, contrived to elude the promises made at Tripolizza under various pretences, until violently threatened by Colocotroni and the other chiefs, when he was forced to write a letter to his wife and mother, ordering them to enter into negotiation with the Greeks. He had, however, found means to apprize them of what was pass-

ing, and thus prevented all the effect which his letter might have otherwise produced.

The arrival of Panouria, of Salona, a popular chief of that neighbourhood, gave a new and more favourable turn to the operations before Corinth. Originally a peasant of Mount Parnassus, he had in early life been driven to the necessity of drawing the sword to avenge the cruelty of a Turkish Aga, and greatly distinguished himself at the head of some brave Arnatolians ever since the insurrection began. Having reproached the chiefs and soldiery with their inactivity, Panouria suggested various projects by which the Acropolis of Corinth might be carried: finding, however, but little disposition to adopt them, he determined to open a communication with the Albanian portion of the garrison; this plan succeeded so well, that a treaty was concluded, by which they consented to withdraw, on condition of being allowed to return home with their arms, and a gratification in money. These terms being readily granted, they descended from the citadel to the number of two hundred, on the 22nd of January; and having been escorted to the beach, were embarked in boats, which transported them to the opposite shore of the gulf.

“The retirement of the Albanians, having removed all farther hope of holding out on the part of the Turks, they also declared themselves ready to capitulate. Such, however, was the altered state of things, that they were now obliged to accept the terms granted by the besiegers. It was then agreed that the garrison should lay down their arms, and be conveyed to the coast of Asia Minor in transports provided by the government of Greece. The first part of these conditions was carried into effect on the 26th, and preparations made to execute the second, which was also fulfilled to a certain extent: but owing to a delay in the arrival of transports, the peasants who had been exposed to the innumerable exactions and oppressive acts of Kiamel Bey, rushed into the citadel, and gratified their irresistible thirst for revenge on many of the Turks.* The conduct of

* The following anecdote is extracted from a Memoir of the War in Greece, by Colonel Voutier, whose name has already appeared in a former chapter:—“While I was walking in the fields near Corinth, a few days after its capture, an old man, who, taking care of a flock of sheep, asked me when Bekir Aga was to quit the fortress. “Why?” I replied with a melancholy presentiment of his motives. “To wait for him,” said he, at a particular place which he named. “Ah! my friend,”

Ipsilanti on this, as on every former occasion, was marked by the greatest humanity, and though his interposition could not entirely prevent the effervescence of popular feeling, it soon had the effect of calming the passions of the multitude.*

“The reputed wealth of Kiamel Bey, without any reference to his former tyrannies and recent duplicity, was thought a sufficient plea for his being retained as a prisoner : but it was in vain that the Greeks urged him to disclose where his treasures were deposited, as he maintained an obstinate silence on this point.

“Associated as Corinth has been, with all that is great
1822. or glorious in Grecian history: dominating the gulfs of Egina and Lepanto, while its strength as a military position, is unrivalled by any other in the Morea, the executive naturally took advantage of its capture, to establish the seat of government there. This event took place on the 27th of February, and it may truly be said, that on their reaching Corinth, those whom the legislators of Epidaurus had appointed to watch over the destinies of Greece, had lit-

added the old Greek, “you are happy not to know the Turks; the earth must be purged of this cursed stain. It offends God and nature. This Bekir-Aga one day asked my son for some milk to refresh himself; but it was not to allay his thirst that the request was made, he had a different object in view: unhappily for my son, he was handsome: resisting the infidel, Bekir seized his ataghan, and my son’s clothes were torn.—Exasperated by this treatment, the boy took up a stone and threw it at the Aga, who killed him on the spot. And all this happened under my own eyes in the midst of these very sheep.”—Having ended his story, the shepherd scraped the earth with his staff, and looking at me wistfully, exclaimed, “Here are his bones.”

* While the Turkish garrison were embarking in the gulf of Egina, an English transport arrived at Vostizza under the protection of a brig of war; these vessels were sent from Corfu to receive the wife and harem of Chourschid Pacha, left at Tripolizza, when he was called on to march into Albania. These women had been treated with the greatest respect during the assault. The negotiation for their ransom was carried on under the immediate auspices of the late Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian islands, and though Chourschid is said to have offered an immense sum, they were liberated for about 60,000 Spanish dollars.—Knowing, as the Greeks of the Morea did, that all the riches possessed by their former tyrant, had been wrung from themselves, it was natural for them to be high in their demands. It is said that Giorgaki the second son of Petros Prince of Maina, a very fine young man, became enamoured of the legitimate wife of Chourschid, a beautiful young Georgian, and that his love was returned. A person who saw them part, for Giorgaki superintended the embarkation, represents the scene as very affecting and even romantic.

the more to depend on, than the justice of her cause and constancy of the people. Destitute of resources at home, anathematized by the Holy Alliance assembled at Laybach, and exposed to the mistaken policy adopted by a late minister of England, they had nothing but persecution to anticipate from the Christian potentates. On the other hand, the preparations of the enemy were such as to appal ordinary minds. The reduction of Ioannina, and the death of Ali Pacha, had placed a very large disposable force in the hands of Chourschid Pacha, together with the immense treasures of the Albanian tyrant: an army had collected at Larissa to invade the Peloponnesus, while a formidable fleet was ready to leave the Dardanelles. In addition to all these causes of despondency, it is needless to say, that there still remained a considerable degree of jealousy among several of the primates; and that those among them, entrusted with local authority or influence, were not as yet fully convinced of the importance of union and obedience to the new government, as the interest of the nation required.

Ipsilanti, who had suffered from a severe attack of typhus fever, after the fall of Corinth, but was now restored to health, did not conceal his disappointment on hearing of Mavrocordato's nomination to the presidency, which he conceived to be due to himself. Instead, therefore, of accepting the place of President of the Legislative Assembly, he accompanied Nikitas and a body of troops destined to watch the motions of the enemy at Zetouni, having previously renounced the title of Generalissimo, assumed on his first coming to Greece.

“On the arrival of the President from Hydra, where he had proceeded to urge the necessity of sending divisions of the fleet towards the Dardanelles and gulf of Lepanto, a system of order and activity commenced, which had been hitherto unknown in the confederation. As to the spirit which animated the new government, it might be easily traced in the decrees which followed the transfer to Corinth. It was while the Porte was meditating fresh schemes of vengeance, and preparing to attack Greece by sea and land, that a decree was issued to abolish slavery, as well as the sale of the Turkish prisoners who should henceforth fall into their hands, which was interdicted under the severest penalties, and ordering that they should be treated as those of the most civilized countries. Another edict, regulated the compensations for military service, as also the provisions to be made

for the widows and orphans of those who should fall in battle : while a third established a regular system of internal administration for the provinces."

" Menaced on every side by forces so infinitely superior in number to their own, and headed by the most able of the infidel chiefs, the necessity of organizing the army on the European system now became more apparent than ever. Although the means of effecting this great object were so slender, still it was of importance to make a beginning: a corps to be styled the first regiment of the line was therefore formed, and many of the officers were selected from the volunteers who had joined the Christian standard from the west of Europe. There being, however, a much larger number of these than was required, they were embodied into a second corps, which assumed the name of Philhellenes. The organization and command of the regular troops were entrusted to General Norman, a distinguished German officer, who had just arrived from Marseilles with a number of volunteers.

" It has already been stated that Ipsilanti and Nikitas had gone towards Zetouni : a second corps of three thousand men were sent to re-establish the blockade of Patras, under Colocotroni : and a smaller body of troops was detached to Athens under the French Colonel Voutier, in order to reduce the Acropolis of that place. An addition was also made to the force before Napoli di Romania, and every precaution adopted to secure its blockade by sea. As to the garrisons of Modon and Coron, they continued to be closely invested by the armed peasantry of the neighbouring villages.

" The commencement of the second campaign for the emancipation of Greece, was marked by an event at once the most atrocious and terrific that the historians of the present age will have to record. It is scarcely necessary to name the desolation of Scio, and massacre of its ill-fated inhabitants. This fertile beautiful island, the chosen asylum of modern Greek learning, not less distinguished for the wealth and industry, than the hospitable urbanity of the natives, had long been singled out as an object of spoliation and vengeance by the infidels, who only waited for a pretext, no matter how trifling, to carry their nefarious design into execution. However painful the sensations may be, to which a recurrence to the above heart-rending tragedy must give rise, a knowledge of the circumstances attending its perpetration

is highly important, as enabling the most superficial observer to form a correct estimate of the great question at issue, between the Greeks and their oppressors ; while a slight examination of the leading facts will decide the merits of a charge, which has so frequently represented the followers of Christ as on a level with those of Mahomet, in point of their respective claims to forbearance and humanity during the contest.

“ The people of Scio had been remarkable for their peaceable habits and quiet submission to the Porte, ever since the capture of Constantinople, and although the inhabitants of a spot where education had made such rapid progress, could not be less interested in the regeneration of Greece, than the rest of their countrymen, yet, were there many causes to prevent them from taking any part of the revolt when it first broke out. The commercial relations of the island were more complicated and extensive than those of any other part of the confederation ; there being scarcely a capital of Europe without some establishments kept by Sciot merchants, while a very large portion of their wealth was locked up at Constantinople and Smyrna ; the trade between these two cities being almost exclusively conducted by them.— Possessing such ample means of ministering to the avarice of their tyrants, the civil government had long been confided to the elders, whose administration was of the most paternal description. What with its palaces, country houses and gardens, its colleges and general state of improvement, Scio presented so striking a contrast to the other islands of the Archipelago, that travellers could hardly be persuaded it was under the same dominion. No wonder, therefore, that such a picture of happiness and prosperity should have excited the hatred and jealousy of the infidels.

“ Occupied in their commercial pursuits, or in promoting the cultivation of learning and science, there was no attempt whatever made to participate in the revolution, so that the island remained perfectly tranquil, until the beginning of May, 1821, when the appearance of a small squadron of Ipsariots off the coast furnished the Aga or military governor with a pretence for commencing the same system of intolerable violence, which had been already extended to Mytilene, Rhodes, and Cyprus. One of the first measures now adopted, was that of seizing forty of the elders and bishops, who were shut up in the castle as hostages for the good conduct of the people. A large body of troops were brought

from the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor ; as in the other islands, the arrival of these lawless hordes was attended with every species of irregularity and excess. In addition to numerous assassinations, and plundering the most wealthy inhabitants, all the provisions that could be found were seized for the use of the garrison, while new imposts were levied to pay the troops and Pacha, who had led them to the island. It was not until Scio had been a whole year exposed to a system like the above, and when it seemed impossible any longer to bear up against it, that any attempt was made to rouse the people to resistance. Totally unprovided, however, as were the peasantry, either with arms or leaders, there is no doubt but they would have continued to suffer all the evils of their situation, had it not been for two adventurers named Burnia and Logotheti, who, without any previous communication with the provisional government, and merely to gratify views of personal ambition, concerted a plan of revolt. Landing from Samos on the 17th and 18th of March, at different points of the island, with a very small number of followers, they called upon the people to join them. Aware of the disastrous consequences which must follow this unexpected descent, the elders, who were still at large, made every effort to prevent the peasantry from taking any part in the insurrection. In the meanwhile, a strong detachment of cavalry were sent out by the Pacha, to oppose the Greeks, and on the 22d the number of hostages already in the citadel were doubled, the victims being selected from the most opulent and distinguished inhabitants. Hearing on the following day that another body of men had landed from Samos, the Pacha sent to ascertain whether they had been joined by the peasantry, and on being assured they had not, a considerable force was ordered to march against them.

“ The Turks set forward for this purpose, but perceiving
1822. that the Greeks determined to resist, they immediately retreated towards the town, pursued by the former, till they were at length forced to shut themselves up in the castle : thus leaving the Greeks in full possession of the open country. Encouraged by their success, Burnia and Logotheti appealed once more to the people, and as matters had now gone so far, that it was impossible to retrograde, a few hundred peasants flocked to their standard, many of these being merely provided with sticks for their defence. Although the elders and primates who had not been imprisoned, continued to remonstrate against the conduct of Bur-

nia and his coadjutor, they now saw the necessity of acceding to the entreaties of all parties, that a local government should be established. A junta of twelve persons being named for this purpose, they began to make various requisitions, and to organize the means of securing the advantage which had been already achieved. It was, however, soon discovered, that there were really no means of arming the people to any extent, and that the expedition was itself but badly armed, as well as totally unprovided with cannon. Convinced, on the other hand, that union and perseverance could alone save them, several plans of organization were adopted, and had the Greek fleet anticipated the arrival of the Pacha, there was every reason to hope the inhabitants would have been enabled to prevent the catastrophe which followed his appearance. This event took place on the 23d of April, when a fleet of fifty sail, including five of the line, anchored in the bay, and immediately began to bombard the town, while several thousand troops were landed under the guns of the citadel, which also opened a heavy fire on the Greeks. It was in vain for the islanders to make any resistance; deserted by the Samians, most of whom embarked and sailed away, when the Turkish fleet hove in sight, they were easily overpowered, and obliged to fly. From this moment, until the last direful act, Scio, lately so great an object of admiration to strangers, presented one continued scene of horror and dismay. Having massacred every soul, whether men, women, or children, whom they found in the town, the Turks first plundered and then set fire to it, and watched the flames until not a house was left, except those of the foreign consuls. Three days had, however, been suffered to pass, before the infidels ventured to penetrate into the interior of the island, and even then their excesses were confined to the low grounds. But there was ample scope on these for gratifying their thirst for Christian blood. An eyewitness, who escaped as it were by a miracle, thus expressed himself in a letter to a friend:—"O God! what a spectacle did Scio present on this lamentable occasion: on whatever side I cast my eyes, nothing but pillage, murder, and conflagration appeared. While some were occupied in plundering the villas of rich merchants, and others setting fire to the villages, the air was rent with the mingled groans of men, women, and children, who were falling under the swords and daggers of the infidels. The only exception made during the massacre, was in favour of young women

and boys, who were preserved only to be afterwards sold as slaves. Many of the former, whose husbands had been butchered, were running to and fro frantic, with torn garments and dishevelled hair, pressing their trembling infants to their breasts, and seeking death as a relief from the still greater calamities that awaited them."

"Above 40,000 of both sexes had already either fallen victims to the sword, or been selected for sale in the Bazaars, when it occurred to the Pacha, that no time should be lost in persuading those who had fled to the more inaccessible parts of the island, to lay down their arms and submit. It being impossible to effect this by force, they had recourse to a favourite expedient with Mussulmen; that of proclaiming an amnesty. In order that no doubt should be entertained of their sincerity, the foreign consuls, more particularly those of England, France, and Austria, were called upon to guarantee the promises of the Turks: they accordingly went forth, and invited the unfortunate peasantry to give up their arms and return. Notwithstanding their long experience of Turkish perfidy, the solemn pledge given by the consuls at length prevailed, and many thousands, who might have successfully resisted until succours arrived, were sacrificed: for no sooner did they descend from the heights, and give up their arms, than the infidels, totally unmindful of the proffered pardon, put them to death without mercy. The number of persons of every age and sex who became the victims of this perfidious act, was estimated at 7,000.

"After having devoted ten days to the work of slaughter, it was natural to suppose that the monsters who directed this frightful tragedy would have been in some degree satiated by the blood of so many innocent victims; but it was when the excesses had begun to diminish on the part of the soldiery, that fresh scenes of horror were exhibited on board the fleet, and in the citadel. In addition to the women and children embarked for the purpose of being conveyed to the markets of Constantinople and Smyrna, several hundred of the natives were also seized, and among these all the gardeners of the island, who were supposed to know where the treasures of their employers had been concealed. There were no less than five hundred of the persons thus collected hung on board the different ships; when these executions commenced, they served as a signal to the commandant of the citadel, who immediately followed the example, by suspend-

ing the whole of the hostages, to the number of seventy-six, on gibbets erected for the occasion. With respect to the numbers who were either killed or consigned to slavery, during the three weeks that followed the arrival of the Capitan Pacha, there is no exaggeration in placing the former at twenty-five thousand souls. It has been ascertained that above thirty thousand women and children were condemned to slavery, while the fate of those who escaped was scarcely less calamitous.* Though many contrived to get off in open boats, or such other vessels as they could procure, thousands who were unable to do so, wandered about the mountains, or concealed themselves in caves, without food or clothing for many days after the massacre had begun to subside on the plains; among those who had availed themselves of the pretended amnesty, many families took refuge in the houses of the consuls, who were indeed bound by every tie of honour and humanity to afford them protection. It has, however, been asserted upon authority which cannot

* On the 13th of May was the first arrival (at Constantinople) of slaves from that devoted island; and on the 18th, sixteen most respectable merchants, resident at Constantinople, but who were guilty of having been born at Scio, were executed. Three of these persons were by the Turks called *hostages*, which means, that they were persons of influence and character, who had been seized by the government, and by it made responsible for the conduct of their countrymen. The continued sale of the Sciot captives led to the commission of daily brutalities. On June 19th, an order came down to the slave market for its cessation; and the circumstances which are believed to have occasioned that order, are extremely singular, and purely oriental. The island of Scio had been granted many years ago to one of the sultanas, as an appropriation, from which she derived a fixed revenue and a title of interference in all matters relating to police and internal administration. The present patroness was Asma Sultana, sister of the sultan; and that amiable princess received about 200,000 piastres a year, besides casual presents, from her flourishing little province. When she was informed of its destruction, her indignation was natural and excessive; and it was directed, of course, against Valid, the pacha who commanded the fort, and the capudan pacha, to whose misconduct she chiefly attributed her misfortune. It was in vain that that officer selected from his captives sixty young and beautiful maidens, whom he presented to the service of her highness. She rejected the sacrifice with disdain, and continued her energetic remonstrances against the injustice and illegality of reducing *rayahs* to slavery, and exposing them for sale in the public markets. The sultan at length yielded to her eloquence or importunity. A license, the occasion of hourly brutalities, was suppressed: and we have the satisfaction of believing that this act of rare and unprecedented humanity may be attributed to the influence of a woman."—Waddington's Visit to Greece, p. 19.

well be doubted, that the wretched beings thus saved from Mussulman vengeance, were obliged to pay large ransoms, before they could leave the Island. Nay, more, numbers of those who escaped the massacre, affirm, that it was extremely difficult to obtain even temporary protection under the Christian flags, without first gratifying the avaricious demands of those who conceived this appalling event a legitimate object of mercantile speculation."

"Melancholy, and utter desolation," says Mr. Leedes,* has befallen this once beautiful and flourishing island. I could not have conceived, without being an eye witness, that destruction could have been rendered so complete. We walked through the town, which was [once] handsome and built entirely of stone, and found the houses, the churches, the hospitals, the extensive college, where, a few months ago, 600 or 700 youths were receiving their education, one entire mass of ruins. On every side were strewed fragments of half-burned books, manuscripts, clothes, and furniture; and what was most shocking to the feelings, numerous bodies were mouldering on the spot where they fell. Nothing that had life was to be seen, but a few miserable, half-starved dogs and cats. The villages have shared the same fate; and of a population of 130,000 Greeks, there remain, perhaps, 800 or 1000 individuals scattered through the most distant places. In the town, nothing has escaped but the consuls' houses, and a very few immediately adjoining them, which could not be burned without burning the consulates. The British Vice Consul has a little colony of 270 Sciots huddled in his garden and premises, whom he feeds at his own expense, and who, under the British flag, have found protection amid the wreck of their country. There are similar establishments in some of the other European establishments. Their food at present consists of grapes and figs, which are now common property, there being no hands to gather in the fruits of the soil."

"As the massacre of Scio furnishes the best occasion presented by the war to establish a comparison between the conduct of the Greeks and their inexorable masters, it is of consequence to prove, that so far from the atrocities in that devoted island having been the result of these excesses in

* Mr. Leedes, a British Missionary, visited Scio in September, after its destruction.—See Miss. Reg. Jan. 1823.

which a soldiery irritated by previous resistance and sufferings, have so frequently indulged, they originated in the cool and deliberate councils of the Divan. With respect to the provocations given by the Sciots, their fidelity to the Porte had never been suspected before the revolution; and it has been ascertained beyond contradiction, that the number of those who joined the expedition from Samos did not exceed two thousand, while it is equally true, that the whole loss of the Turks during the ephemeral conflict did not amount to three hundred, and these fell in the skirmishes which took place between the opposing parties, as there was no instance of gratuitous cruelty on the part of the Greeks. The readiness with which the elders and primates gave themselves up as hostages, and their efforts to prevent the peasantry from joining Burnia and Logotheti, is an ample proof of their perfect innocence. Yet was it under all these circumstances, that a population of more than one hundred thousand souls was doomed to general destruction; not by an unbridled and undisciplined soldiery, stimulated by the opposition and privations attendant on a long siege, but by a positive order from a sovereign and government, whose legitimacy had been solemnly proclaimed by the Christian potentates assembled at Laybach and Verona. That the whole of this terrific drama had been got up at Constantinople, a variety of concurrent circumstances tend to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt. When the messenger who announced the descent from Samos reached the capital, it was decided in full Divan, that the Capitan Pacha, whose preparations were still incomplete, should sail with all possible dispatch, and take such measures with the people of Scio as would effectually prevent their joining the confederation. All the most opulent Sciot merchants resident in the capital were at the same time seized and thrown into prison as hostages. The fate of these unfortunate persons leaves no room whatever to doubt, that the proceedings at Scio were fully approved of at Constantinople; for it was immediately after the arrival of the Capitan Pacha in the former place, and when the steps he had taken must have been known, that the whole of them were impaled alive by a mandate from the Sultan himself.

“ With a thorough knowledge of all that had happened elsewhere, and while their brethren, the professors of a common faith, were writhing under the unutterable torments of such a death, surely the time had arrived when the Christian ambassadors were called upon by the voice of God and

nature to interpose. Will posterity believe that this interposition was withheld, or that while the ambassadors remained quietly at their posts, the lamentable catastrophe rung through Christian and civilized Europe, without exciting much more notice than the loss of an East-Indiaman, or a trifling fall in the public funds? When, however, posterity shall contrast the indifference now betrayed, and the rancorous malignity with which the excesses of an infuriated and starving soldiery at Tripolizza were visited, and even alleged as a sufficient motive for abandoning the cause of Christ, it will most assuredly have but little cause to admire the social and political system of Europe in the nineteenth century.

“Of all the errors laid to the charge of the naval chiefs, of Greece, their delay in coming to the relief of Scio is unquestionably the best founded, as it is most to be lamented. This omission is doubly to be deplored, when it is considered, that the appearance of a squadron simultaneously with the Capitan Pacha, would have paralysed his operations, and encouraged the inhabitants to greater resistance. Had the fleet arrived even after the slaughter commenced, there is every reason to believe, that a few well directed fire-ships could not fail taking effect on the Turkish ships, a great part of whose crews were employed in aiding to perpetrate the massacre on shore. From whatever cause it arose, the

* In answer to a question put by Mr. William Smith, the member for Norwich, to Lord Londonderry, in the House of Commons, relative to the massacre of the Sciot hostages, the latter merely replied, that, “a calamity had occurred, which had arisen out of the peculiar acts of barbarity perpetrated on both sides.” The observations of Sir James Mackintosh, on this occasion, are well worthy of historical record. He asked “if dispatches had been received from our Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, from which it could be ascertained whether any of the persons who had been murdered by the barbarian tyrants at Constantinople, had been under the protection of the British Minister, Lord Strangford, or had surrendered themselves to the Turks, under any pledge, promise, or assurance of safety from that nobleman?” He also asked “whether it was mentioned in any of the recent dispatches received by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the markets of Smyrna and Constantinople were filled with amiable Greek ladies and children, offered to the caprices of barbarous Mahomedan voluptuaries? And finally, whether ministers could afford the nation any account of the new slave trade, established in the East, for the sale of amiable and accomplished Christian females, by a government which was encouraged and supported by the administration of this free and enlightened country?”

fleet did not arrive until the last week in May, when the catastrophe was already consummated. Tombasi, the Hydriot admiral, who commanded, had, however, the satisfaction of saving a great number of both sexes, who succeeded in escaping to the mountains.*

* The scene which presented itself to the Greek sailors who landed on the southern shores of Scio, was such as no pen could trace, no language could describe. The beach for several miles was strewn with dead bodies of men, women, and children, many of whom were still warm and bathed in their own blood. Most of those taken on board had been wounded, and looked more like spectres than human beings. Mr. Hastings, a young Englishman of family, who was embarked on board Tombasi's ship, witnessed these horrors, and shuddered while he essayed to describe them to me at Tripolizza. An unhappy fugitive had informed my friend that he was one of two thousand who took refuge in a cavern on the coast, in the hope of concealing themselves.—As, however, there was not space enough within for half the number, those who could not penetrate remained outside, many of them being obliged to stand up to their knees in water. It was while they were contending with each other to get into this imagined place of security, that a party of Turks appeared on the rocks above their heads, and immediately began to fire down on them. Having thus despatched all those who stood without, the infidels drew their ataghans, rushed into the cave, and also put every soul they found to death.

A French officer, who had landed soon after the massacre, saw an infant clinging to the breast of its mother, a young and beautiful woman, whose lifeless corpse lay bleeding on the ground.

The situation of those who succeeded in getting to Ipsara was most deplorable, reaching that place without having any sustenance for many days, and almost naked, there were no means of providing for their wants in the island: so that thousands were obliged to sleep in the open air until they could obtain a passage to some other place. The separation of wives and husbands, brothers, sisters and children, which occurred in almost every family, was not the least agonizing part of the calamities now endured. While at Marseilles, on my way to Greece, I saw a lovely babe, who had been just brought to its parents by the nurse, after having been given up as lost for many months. This faithful creature had fled to the mountains in the first days of the massacre, and wandered about, living on the herbs of the field, until at length Providence threw the means of escape in her way, and she was conveyed to a neighbouring island. The parents of the child had also fled, but happening to gain a different point of the coast, they departed in another direction, and had given up every hope of seeing their child, when he was thus restored to them.

Thousands of the Sciot women, remarkable throughout the Archipelago for their grace and beauty, continued to be exposed for sale both in the island and at Constantinople and Smyrna, for several months after the massacre. After detailing such scenes as the above, to which a thousand others, equally heart-rending, might be added, it becomes a matter of very trifling import to state, that the

“ Having rendezvoused at Ipsara, Tombasi was joined by a division from that island, when it was decided that a combined effort should be made against the enemy's fleet. The two squadrons accordingly entered the channel which separates Scio from the Asiatic continent, but owing to light winds, they advanced so slowly, that the Turks had time to weigh their anchors and gain the open sea. The Greeks came up with them between Scio and Ipsara, and were preparing their fire-ships, when a gale of wind came on, and separated the hostile fleets. Meeting some days after, in the straits of Scio, the attempt to fire the enemy was again made, and though unsuccessful, it threw all the Turkish ships into the utmost confusion, and they could only escape the threatened danger by cutting their cables and running out to sea.

“ The sailing of an Egyptian squadron from Alexandria for the relief of Candia, where the inhabitants had recently made a most gallant stand, having obliged Tombasi to proceed towards that island, the second great naval triumph of the Greeks was destined to be achieved under the auspices of Miaoulis, the most celebrated admiral of Greece. Fertile in expedients, and anxious to avenge some portion of the horrors committed at Scio, this modern Themistocles determined to adopt a stratagem, which, though extremely hazardous to those employed to carry it into effect, yet presented the greatest probabilities of success. Perceiving that the Turks were now on their guard, and prepared for the mode of attack practised by the Greeks, he directed two fire vessels, one from Ipsara, and the other a Hydriot, to sail alone; and when close to the coast of Asia Minor, they were to bear up towards the Turkish fleet, and keep near the shore, as if they were merchant ships bound to Smyrna.*—

finest modern Greek library in existence, collected at an immense expense, and comprising above 60,000 volumes, was completely destroyed during the conflagration of the town. It is a coincidence worthy of remark, that it was the followers of Mahomet who burnt the grand Alexandrian library twelve centuries before. The glittering of the mathematical instruments saved them from being destroyed: these were part of the booty, and taken to Smyrna, where they found a purchaser in one of the French merchants resident there.

* Of these fire-ships Mr. Emerson gives such an appalling account, as to leave no wonder on the mind that even the bravest sailors could not witness their approach without dismay.

“ The vessels usually employed for this purpose, says he, are old ships purchased by the government. Their construction as fire-ships

They were thus allowed to pass the look-out ships unmolested, and sailing boldly into the midst of the fleet, which were at anchor in Scio roads, both their commanders laid a Turkish line of battle ship on board. One of the latter contrived to disengage herself, but the Ipsariot, under the intrepid Canari, took full effect, and he had the glory of destroying the Capitan Pacha's ship, together with the monster himself and all his crew. The ship was loaded with the spoils of Scio, and it is to be feared that many Greek women and

are very simple ; nothing more being wanted than active combustion. For this purpose, the ribs, hold, and sides of the vessel after being well tarred, are lined with dry furze dipped in pitch and lees of oil, and sprinkled with sulphur ; a number of hatchways are then cut along the deck, and under each is placed a small barrel of gunpowder ; so that at the moment of conflagration each throws off its respective hatch, and giving ample vent to the flames, prevents the deck from being too soon destroyed by the explosion.

“ A train [of gunpowder] which passes through every part of the ship and communicates with every barrel, running round the deck, and passing out at the steerage window, completes the preparations below ; whilst above, every rope and yard is well covered with tar so as speedily to convey the flames to the sails ; and at the extremity of each yard arm is attached a wickered hook, which being once entangled with the enemy's rigging, renders escape, after coming in contact, almost a matter of impossibility. The train, to prevent accidents, is never laid till the moment of using it ; when all being placed in order, and the wind favourable, with every possible sail set, so as to increase the flames, she bears down upon the enemy's line, whilst the crew, usually twenty-five or thirty in number, have no other defence than crouching behind the after bulwarks. When close upon the destined ship, all hands descend by the stern, into a launch fitted out for the purpose with high gun-wales and a pair of small swivels ; and at the moment of contact, she is fired by the captain, and every hatch being thrown off, the flames burst at the same instant from stem to stern : and ascending by the tarred ropes and sails, soon communicates with the rigging of the enemy's vessel, who have never yet, in one instance, been able to extricate themselves. In fact, such is the terror with which they have inspired the Turks, that they seldom make the slightest resistance. On the distant approach of the fire-ship, they maintain, for several minutes, an incessant random cannonade ; but at length, long before she comes in contact, precipitate themselves into the sea, and attempt to reach the other vessels, scarcely one remaining to the last moment to attempt to save the devoted ship. Sometimes, however, armed boats are sent off from the other vessels of the fleet, but they have never yet been able either to prevent the approach of the fire ship, or seize on the crew whilst making their escape ; and, though fire-ships are in other countries considered a forlorn hope, such is the stupidity and terror of the Turks, that it is rarely that one of the brulotiers is wounded, and very seldom indeed that any lose their lives.”—*Picture of Greece*, vol. i. p. 116—118.

children perished in her. This event happening at such a time, was attributed to the interposition of a special providence by the people of Greece,* for had the Turkish fleet been enabled either to co-operate with the Egyptian squadron sent against Candia, or with the army which invaded the Morea, it is impossible to calculate what the consequences might have been. Fortunately for the Christians, the infidels were panic-struck, and fled to the Dardanelles, where some weeks were unavoidably lost in preparing to resume their operations by sea.”†

“It appears,” says Mr. Green, “that the Turkish inhabitants of Athens shut themselves up in the Acropolis in May, 1821, and that the town was occupied by the Greeks until the following August, when Omer Vrioni Pacha relieved the place, and drove away the Greeks with some loss. After remaining three months at Athens, he returned with his Albanians to Roumelia, leaving the same Turks whom he had relieved to garrison the Acropolis.

“Not a month elapsed before the Greeks returned once more from the mountains and the neighbouring islands, and the Turkish garrison were again compelled to seek refuge in the Acropolis. Many attempts were made by the Greeks to take the place by assault or by surprise, but without success.

“At length provisions and water failed, and the garrison were much reduced in numbers from deaths caused by disease. Seeing no chance of succour, the besieged entered into negotiation with the insurgents, and a treaty was at length concluded, by which the Acropolis was to be delivered up to the Greeks, on condition that the lives of the Turks should be spared, and that they should be transported in vessels, to be provided by the Greek government, to some port in Asia Minor. On the 22d of June, 1822, the Acropolis was delivered up : some disputes arose concerning property, and a few Turks were killed : however, the French, Austrian, and Dutch Vice-Consuls (who still remained at Athens, the English Vice-Consul, Signor Logotheti, having died subsequent to the breaking out of the revolution) in-

* On the same day which witnessed the destruction of the Capitan Pacha and his ship, the Acropolis of Athens capitulated to the Greeks.

† Blaquiere, p. 177—204.

torised, and caused order to be restored. The garrison and their families were provided with houses in the town, until such time as the vessels that were to embark them could arrive; some were even sheltered by the Consuls, particularly the women and children.

“It has been said that the town of Athens has been nearly destroyed during the repeated struggles between the contending parties to keep possession of it; but the highly interesting remains of antiquity have, with scarcely an exception, been preserved uninjured.”*†



CHAPTER XVII.

Colocotroni marches to Patras.—Action before that place.—Meeting of the Greek and Turkish Squadrons.—Preparations of Chourschid Pacha.—Error of the Congress at Epidaurus.—Plan of Prince Mavrocordato: he departs for Missolonghi.—Colocotroni raises the Blockade of Patras.—Invasion of the Morea by Machmout Pacha of Drama.—The Members of the Executive embark.—Firmness of Colocotroni.—Operations on the Plain of Argos.—Corinth is abandoned by the Greeks.—Gallant conduct of Demetrius Ipsilanti.—Retreat of the Turkish Army: it is attacked in the Passes.—Return of the Executive to Lerna.—Events near Corinth.—The Dervenachi are occupied by Colocotroni and Nikitas.—Privations and sufferings of the Greeks, contrasted with those of the Turks.—Capture of Napoli di Romania.—Forbearance and Moderation of the Greeks.—Arrival of the Cambrian Frigate, and generous conduct of Captain Hamilton.—Affair at Akrata.—End of the Campaign of 1822.

1822. “WHILE the provisional government was sedulously occupied in preparing for the approaching campaign at Corinth, an event occurred which rendered it necessary to send Colocotroni with a force of three thousand men towards Patras; this was the arrival of a division of the Turkish fleet which had sailed from the Hellespont before the Capitan Pacha; it consisted of six large frigates, and above fifty transports and smaller vessels, the whole fill-

* Green's Sketches, p. 112.

† See Appendix.

ed with troops, which were landed at Patras in the latter end of February. Colocotroni arrived before the walls soon after they had been disembarked.

On perceiving his approach, the Turks quitted their position, and went in pursuit of the Greeks with nearly the whole of their force. Apprehensive that his detachment was unequal to cope with such numbers, Colocotroni retreated towards the mountains, closely pursued by the enemy; and when in a situation where his men could act with advantage, he suddenly halting, harangued the troops, upon which they immediately turned round and advanced towards the infidels—the latter, supposing that reinforcements had by this time appeared in sight, became panic struck in their turn, and were followed sword in hand by the Greeks to the very walls of Patras: the result of this affair was, that five hundred of the enemy were slain in less than two hours.* On seeing the kind of troops he had to contend with, the Greek chieftain now took up a position close to the town, and established a rigorous blockade.

Miaouli and Tombasi having pursued the infidel squadron with a division of the Greek fleet, attacked them as they were quitting the waters of Patras on the 3d of March, and but for a heavy gale that separated the ships, there was a confident expectation that the frigate of the Turkish Admiral would have fallen into the hands of the Greeks, as a close running fight was maintained between her and Tombasi's small ship of twenty guns for some time, and he would have been ultimately laid on board, but for the boisterous state of the weather.

Mr. Consul Green, who as we have already stated is careful never to give the Greeks credit for more than they deserve, gives a very different version of this affair.

“The Capitana Bey on the approach of the Greek fleet ordered the vessels of war to be got under weigh, and sent the transports for protection to Lepanto; he then bore down on the Greeks, brought them to action in the Bay, and sustained an engagement with them for three hours, during which four Greek vessels attempted to board a Turkish fri-

* A French officer, M. de le Villasse, whose name has already appeared, was present at this affair:—he states, that on approaching the walls of Patras during the pursuit, some Turks cried out, “Why do you kill our brethren, don't you know they were forced to come here from Constantinople?”

gate, which had become nearly unmanageable, from the top-sail haul-yards being shot away. They were, however, repulsed, and a Greek vessel catching fire, she drifted on shore; which accident so disconcerted the crews of the other vessels, that they simultaneously set all sail, and steered before the wind, closely pursued by the Turks."

"The Turkish vessels," continues Mr. Green, "did not appear to have suffered further than by a few grape shot in their sides."*†

Notwithstanding the large force collected before Ioannina, and in other parts of Epirus, the Greeks under Marco Bozaris and Rango had gained many advantages, and taken Arta, after a desperate struggle on the 5th of December. This was a highly important point to the patriots; but owing to the treason of a chief named Tairabos, it was abandoned, the Greek leaders conceiving themselves too weak to resist the forces which might be sent against them by Chourshid Pacha. The necessity of thus giving up the key of Albania was a great misfortune for the Hellenists, and could not fail to expose Acarnania to the incursions which were made not long after.

While Odysseus and his brave companions were endeavouring to check the progress of the enemy in Livadia and Negropont, the recent discomfiture of the Greek population at Cassandra and Mount Athos placed such a force at their disposal, that they were enabled to advance once more, and even reinforce the garrison of Athens.

The tyrant of Ioannina's fall had placed such abundant resources in men and money at the disposal of Chourshid Pacha, that he was enabled to concert a plan of operations, which, if carried into execution with an ordinary portion of skill, must have led to the total destruction of the Greek cause. One of the errors attributed to the Congress of Epidaurus, was that of its omitting to name any of the chiefs who had commenced the insurrection to situations in the

* Sketches of the War, p. 98.

† The British Consul's partiality for the Turks, the reader will observe, has led him into an unwitting and palpable contradiction in this account. At one moment, and during the heat of the action, the Greeks were such cowards, that four of their vessels attempted in vain to board an unmanageable Turkish frigate; but after all, the Turks did not suffer, except by a few grape shot in the sides of their vessels. If Mr. Green will make it appear that the Turks shot away their own haul-yards, the account would be much more plausible.

new government. Although this arose from the excessive jealousy entertained by the Greeks, of giving too great an ascendancy in civil affairs to military men, it would perhaps have been prudent to waive this objection in the present case; at all events, there is little doubt but it produced a considerable degree of indifference on the part of some of the leaders.

Aware of the consequences which must ensue, were Chourshid Pacha and his lieutenants quietly permitted to organize their projects in Albania, Mavrocordato had long thought of a plan, which if it did not frustrate the designs of the enemy, would at least operate as a powerful diversion in favour of the Peloponnesus. The object he had in view, was an expedition into Epirus, which should establish the new system of government in western Greece; draw the attention of the Turks from the Morea; relieve the brave Souliotes, who were defending themselves in Kiapha, with their wonted heroism, and carry the war into the very heart of Albania. The conception was excellent, and had there been adequate means of carrying it into effect, this project must have been crowned with entire success. Even with all the disadvantages opposed to the Prince, it will hereafter be seen that his operations were productive of highly important consequences to the safety of the confederation.

Having communicated his plan to the members of the executive, it was greatly applauded, and an arrangement was made, by which five thousand men should be immediately appropriated to this service, and placed at the disposal of the president, who determined to lead the expedition in person. Owing, however, to the number of troops detached in different directions, the only force he could now avail himself of, was the battalion of Philhellenes, and the first regiment of the line, neither of which bodies was by any means complete. With these, the Prince set out from Corinth accompanied by General Norman and Kiriakouli, who had seven hundred men under his orders: these were more particularly destined to relieve the Souliotes. The expedition was to be joined by fifteen hundred men from the army before Patras. The Prince arrived there on the 12th of June, and was received by Colocotroni with every demonstration of joy; but such were the difficulties the latter opposed to allowing any part of his troops to be detached, that the expedition was compelled to depart without the promised assistance. Embarking next day on board a small Greek squad-

ron which had been waiting near Patras for the purpose, Mavrocordato landed at Missolonghi with only a few hundred men, while Kiriakouli and his party proceeded northwards, in order to disembark as near Kiapha as circumstances would admit.

While the above named chiefs were pursuing their arduous task in Epirus, a storm was gathering in Thessaly, which the cowardice and incapacity of the infidels alone prevented from rendering the triumph of the Hellenists a matter of extreme uncertainty. As a large force had been for some time collecting at Larissa and Zetouni, nothing but the confidence entertained by Mavrocordato, that the appearance of a corps in Acarnania would counteract the projects of the enemy, would have justified his absence at such a moment. For though the virtuous and patriotic Canacari,* who remained to superintend the administration of affairs as Vice-president, was greatly esteemed by the people, his means were inadequate to give efficiency to the plans of government. One of the immediate effects of thus weakening the executive, was to enable those chiefs who had been dissatisfied with the arrangements at Epidaurus, to betray their indifference to the new system with greater impunity.

The first glaring manifestation of discontent among the chiefs, was made by Colocotroni, who suddenly raised the blockade of Patras on the 6th of July, without orders, and proceeded with the whole of his forces to Tripolizza, thus leaving the Turkish garrison at liberty either to penetrate into the Morea, or cross the gulf of Lepanto. Although this unexpected movement excited great astonishment, as well as the displeasure of the government, it is not improbable that Colocotroni might have had a suspicion of what was about to happen; for he had scarcely been a week in his new quarters, before the intelligence arrived, that a Turkish army had passed the great Dervenachi, or defiles, and had advanced to the walls of Corinth. Here, it should be observed, that the seat of government had been transferred to Argos, soon after the departure of Mavrocordato, and a small garrison had been left to defend the Acropolis. The

* Greece has since had to deplore the loss of this most excellent man. He died at Castries in January, 1823, after having devoted a long life to the grand object of the regeneration of his country. The death of Athanasius Canacari was universally and deeply lamented: nor will it be easy to supply the place of so inestimable a citizen.

exact force of the enemy was not known, but from the nature of the information communicated, it must have been very considerable. The arrival of this news, at a moment when so little progress had been made in the military organization, and the executive had no money to pay the troops, was well calculated to create alarm. The conduct of Colocotroni was, however, marked by the greatest firmness and presence of mind, while his subsequent efforts and successfully entitled this chief to the gratitude of his country. Not doubting but that the relief of Napoli di Romania was a grand object with the enemy, he determined to march towards that place, but on preparing to depart, the utmost force he could muster did not exceed two thousand men. Forming this small corps into two divisions, he sent the largest, consisting of twelve hundred men, towards Corinth, under the command of his most confidential officer, Coliopulo, to occupy the passes between that place and Argos ; while the remainder was destined to act under his own immediate orders. Messengers were dispatched on every side to recall the troops who had retired to cultivate their fields or visit their families. Colocotroni proceeded to Argos, where he only found Demetrius Ipsilanti with little more than three hundred men, the members of the executive having thought it expedient to embark, and to proceed to a neighbouring island, when they heard of the enemy's approach. The consternation which now spread throughout the Morea was greatly increased by the abandonment of Corinth, and its re-occupation by the infidels. Whether it arose from the want of means or of foresight, that important point had not been supplied with provisions. There was indeed but too much reason to conclude, that the person who had been left in command there, added pusillanimity to treason, having fled on the approach of the Turks, without making any attempt to defend the post confided to his charge.* There is per-

* The individual entrusted with the defence of Corinth, was a Papas of Hydra, who had, like many other priests, taken up arms when the revolution broke out. Previous to his evacuation of the Acropolis of Corinth, he caused Kiamel Bey to be dispatched, for having, as some persons assert, kept up a secret correspondence with the enemy ; and according to others, because the Turkish chief persisted in refusing to disclose where his treasures were concealed. With respect to these, it is said that his wife, whose life was preserved, and whom Machmout Pacha married after his retreat from the plain of Argos, made the above important discovery to her new husband.

Whatever may have been the motive for putting Kiamel Bey to

haps no act of the new government, which has been so much censured, as its omitting to secure Corinth against recapture; and the error became still more apparent from it being well known, that a very small garrison would have been sufficient for its defence against all the power of Turkey. Had the Greeks retained this place, it is probable that Machmout Pacha would not have passed the Isthmus; the chiefs would, at all events, have had more time to prepare for his reception. But Providence seems on this, as well as on other occasions, to have taken the Greeks under its special protection, so that their very faults proved advantageous to them in the end.

It was thus that Colocotroni's sudden departure from Patras, which might have been productive of such serious consequences, now enabled him to reach the plain of Argos just as his presence was above all things necessary. Nothing could be more embarrassing or alarming than the situation of Ipsilanti and himself at this moment, without money or provisions, and having scarcely thirteen hundred men, to oppose to an army of thirty thousand, which was the number said to be advancing towards the plain. In this state of things, Ipsilanti, with a degree of courage and resolution which did him the highest honour, threw himself into the ruined citadel of Argos, there to impede the progress of the enemy, while Colocotroni entrenched himself at Lerna, a strong position on the western shore of the gulph, and waited the arrival of reinforcements from Maina, Arcadia, and other points.

Several small detachments of the enemy were seen descending into the plain from Corinth, on the 20th of July, upon which, the numerous villages that cover its prolific surface, were immediately abandoned by the inhabitants: and in two days after, the first column, composed of seven thou-

death, he had no claims to the pity of a people over whom he had exercised a system of the most flagitious tyranny ever practised in the Morea, where his name is held in deserved execration. Besides his innumerable other exactions from the ill-fated Greeks, a regular corvee or forced labour was established throughout the Pachialic for the personal benefit of the tyrant. Like most of the Pachas, he was the greatest trader in the province, and a most determined forestaller of corn. No stronger proof can be given of the state of the Greek peasantry under their late rulers, than the incontestible fact, that Kiamel Bey made a common practice of obliging them to receive the old wheat remaining unsold in his own granaries, in exchange for that which they had just reaped.

sand cavalry, and four thousand infantry, came in sight, and halted about three miles from Argos. A part of this division was observed to file off towards Napoli di Romania, with which place a negotiation for capitulation had been commenced fifteen days before, and even hostages had been exchanged as a preliminary to its surrender. No sooner, however, did the Turkish commandant perceive the approach of his friends, than he sent to break off the treaty, requesting that the Turks might be liberated, as he was himself preparing to give up the Greeks.

The precaution having been taken of destroying or carrying off whatever could be of use to the enemy, more especially corn and forage of every kind, the Turks, who expected large supplies of wheat, from the produce of the recent harvest, and other booty, found nothing but the bare walls of the villages and churches standing; they attempted to ascend to the citadel, where the Christian banner was displayed, but were immediately repulsed. Machmout had arrived by this time, with a second column of ten thousand men, cavalry and infantry, so that, as far as numbers were considered, the Greeks had ample cause of alarm. Contrary, however, to general expectation, the Pacha, who was accompanied by Ali Bey, the governor of Napoli di Romania, entered that fortress, and remained there several days without a single movement on the part of his army, or indeed seeming to have any decided plan of operation in view. The Greeks were by no means so inactive. Colocotroni continued to strengthen his position at Lerna, while the number of his troops increased daily, and soon amounted to eight thousand men. On the appearance of the second division of the enemy, Ipsilanti prepared to quit the Acropolis, which was entirely destitute of water, and as the object of checking the Turks had been fully attained, his presence was no longer necessary. The retreat was effected in a very masterly style; for though surrounded by detachments of the enemy, Prince Demetrius profiting by an interval of darkness, left the dilapidated position which he had so well maintained, and succeeded in joining the main body at Lerna, without losing a man.

When there had been sufficient time for the Greeks to look around them, and send out reconnoitering parties, the state of affairs assumed a much less terrific aspect than at first. It was soon found, that so far from having brought supplies to the starving garrison of Napoli, the infidels had advanced without any means of subsistence for themselves.

Nothing could be more characteristic of the Turkish military system, than this omission. They might have readily imagined, that the Greeks would not suffer the produce of the harvest to fall into their hands, while it was equally certain, there was not a blade of grass to be procured at this season of the year. To render the fatality which seemed to await the enemy still more complete, Machmout had not left a single detachment to guard any of the defiles through which he had entered the Morea.

Threatened with all the horrors of famine and drought, which had already begun to make considerable ravages among the Turks, the Pacha seemed at length to awake from his lethargy, and quitting Napoli, followed by a numerous suite, gave orders for their preparing to return towards Corinth. It is needless to say, with what alacrity these orders were obeyed. The whole camp was instantly on the alert, and no sooner were the camels laden with the baggage, than the infidel army set forward in great disorder. Minutely informed of what was passing on the plain, by their out-posts, the chiefs at Lerna had already sent off detachments by a mountain path-way, so as to overtake the enemy's columns as they entered the defiles between Corinth and Mycene. Colocotroni himself advanced with the main body the moment that he perceived the Turks were in motion; while a part of the troops employed before Napoli, advanced on their right flank. These movements were so well contrived and executed, that the enemy, whose rear-guard had suffered severely on the first day's march, was attacked with such impetuosity on the second, that not less than five thousand were destroyed in the course of a few hours. And had it not been that many of the Greek soldiery, paid more attention to the loaded camels, than to the fugitives, the loss of the Turks would have been much greater. The fate of the advanced guard was little better than that of their companions. On reaching the defiles near Corinth, they were met by the Mainotes, dispatched from Lerna, under Nikitas, and attacked so furiously, that above twelve hundred of them perished in the first onset. Many more were killed in trying to force the passes. A great quantity of baggage and a number of horses fell into the hands of the Greeks. These memorable successes occurred between the 4th and 7th of August. Some of the foreign volunteers who were present during this retreat, have expressed their astonishment at the tranquil manner in which the Turks, both infantry and caval-

ry, suffered themselves to be cut down, without making the smallest resistance, as if they had looked upon themselves as consigned to death by some supernatural power.

The almost entire destruction of this army is acknowledged by the British Consul. And while as humane beings we cannot rejoice at the relation of so much suffering, still, we may consider that the Greeks not only fought in defence of their country, but their lives, and that on the part of the 'Turks this was a war of extermination. Mr. Green's account is as follows.

"I have been particularly anxious to obtain a correct account of the disasters of the large army which invaded the Morea in July, 1822. The following particulars I obtained from Cara Osman Oglu, the Commissary-General, and from other Turks who were with the army.

It consisted of twenty-three thousand men, although rations were allowed for twenty-eight thousand: there were also between fifty and sixty thousand horses and mules, as, independent of a horse, many of the men possessed three or four mules, acquired by pillage in the different districts through which they passed. Of this force, fifteen hundred men were sent to the relief of Napoli in July, under the command of Ali Pacha, formerly Ali Bey, Governor of Argos. Another division of five thousand men attempted to penetrate by Argos to Tripolizza, but were repulsed by the Greeks, and wanting provisions, returned to Corinth with a considerable loss. In addition to the supplies brought with the army, five cargoes of wheat and rice were received at Corinth from Constantinople and Alexandria, besides a few occasional supplies sent by Isouf Pacha from Patras. Napoli being quite destitute of provisions, Ali Pacha made the most pressing demands for a supply, which Dramali attempted to furnish, by sending two expeditions, only one of which arrived safe, and that consisting of fifty mules laden with wheat and rice, escorted by a body of cavalry. The town of Corinth having been burnt by the Insurgents before they evacuated it, the troops were compelled to bivouac in the open air, or some few under tents; the rainy season set in, and the mortality was very great; their horses and mules also died from want of pasturage and grain, or were killed to supply food. The Greeks collected in the vicinity, and several skirmishes took place, but none of any consequence. In short, of the twenty-three thousand men who undisputedly entered Corinth, upwards of seventeen thousand perished

in the space of eight months, and four fifths of that number through disease and starvation : only three thousand five hundred arrived at Patras, and with the survivors of the fifteen hundred who surrendered at Napoli, and the garrison left in Corinth, form the remnants of that large army which was destined by the Sultan to re-conquer the Morea, and reduce the rebel subjects of the Porte to obedience.”*

Having collected the remnant of his army under the walls of Corinth, and been joined by the reserves left there, Machmout Pacha made a movement on the 18th, with the seeming view of resuming the offensive, and marching towards Argos : the real object of this movement, was, however, to draw the Greeks, who had been watching him, into an ambuscade. Aware of his intentions in time, the Greeks, instead of attempting to impede him, got into his rear, when the Turks attacked them, but owing to the advantageous position taken up by the Greeks, the enemy was again repulsed with great loss. A still more bloody affair took place on the following day. Determined to regain the position they had abandoned, the Turkish troops were headed by Hadji Ali, second in command to Machmout : this officer, one of the bravest of the Ottoman army, was killed while encouraging his men. In the above desperate effort, the enemy lost nearly two thousand men, together with a large quantity of baggage, and several hundred horses.†

The blockade of Napoli di Romania was now renewed, with increased vigilance, and Ipsilanti proceeded to reinforce the garrison at Athens, lest other divisions of the enemy should advance towards that place. Ali Bey had retained the five hundred cavalry which he brought to strengthen the garrison of Napoli ; but with the exception of a small quantity of grain found concealed in some parts of the plain, during its recent occupation, his stock of provisions was exhausted.

* Sketches, p. 140.

† Mr. Waddington states, that he possesses a copy of the letter from Nikitas to Odysseus, giving an account of this affair, in which he estimates his own loss at fifteen killed and wounded, and eight missing, while the loss of the Turks was 500. “The Mussulmen rode into the passes, with their sabres in their sheaths, and their hands before their eyes, the victims of destiny ; and if the Greeks, from fear, or neglect, had not left one road entirely unoccupied, by which most of the enemy escaped, the whole of the Ottoman army might have fallen on that spot.” — *Waddington*, p. 144.

1822. After the successes between Corinth and Argos, Colocotroni collected the whole of his troops, within a short distance of the former place, and leaving them under the direction of Coliopulo, with orders to watch the shattered remains of Machmout's army, he went on to Tripolizza, to concert with the Senate, which had been formed after the embarkation of the executive, relative to the subsistence of the troops, and vigorous prosecution of the campaign.

The members of the government, who had never left the gulph, disembarked at Derna in the beginning of September. The reasons given for their withdrawing were by no means satisfactory to the soldiery : It was alleged that by remaining on shore, they had no means whatever of adding to the resources of the Morea, or contributing to its defence, whereas the influence of the military chiefs neutralized all their power there. On the other hand, there was no doubt, that in retiring they were enabled not only to communicate their decrees to the different points of the confederation, but could appeal with more effect to the naval islands for succour and support. However conclusive these reasons might have been to the less partial observer, they did not prevent a number of ill-natured remarks, more particularly on the part of Colocotroni, who was loudest in his censures, and from having performed so conspicuous a part in gaining the late victory, naturally thought himself entitled to all the honours of the triumph. Hence arose an altercation which prevented the executive from resuming their functions for some weeks : to this circumstance may also be traced a great deal of that jealousy between the civil and military authorities, which has, on more than one occasion, retarded the interests of the confederation since the above period.

As it happened in almost every other instance of success, the Greeks had no means of following up the events of July and August, 1822. Finding that the enemy did not attempt to approach Athens, Ipsilanti returned to the Morea, and together with Nikitas, advanced towards Napoli, to assist in the reduction of that fortress. The troops left under Coliopulo, not being regularly supplied with rations, nor receiving any pay, became so tired of the service in which they were engaged, that the greatest part withdrew ; merely leaving Colocotroni's eldest son, a brave and promising young officer, with two or three hundred men, to maintain the blockade of Corinth. As there was still a body of three thousand men, of whom two thirds were cavalry, encamped

under the walls, the situation of young Colocotroni was now very critical, and he had certain information that the Turks were preparing to march at all hazards to the relief of Napoli. They did succeed in sending a small detachment, which gained the fortress unobserved by the troops before Corinth, or those employed in the blockade of Napoli. The latter were, however, in general extremely vigilant, as, excepting a convoy of fifty mules laden with grain, that contrived to steal across the plain of Argos and enter the citadel in the night, and during a heavy storm, the exertions of the Greeks were so unremitted, that whoever attempted to leave or approach the walls, was almost sure of being intercepted. It was thus, that nearly all the cavalry brought by Ali Bey, were cut off in detail, during their attempts to obtain supplies.

The time had, however, now approached, when the garrison of Napoli could no longer hope for relief on the side of Corinth. Colocotroni, who had succeeded in making arrangements for the more regular subsistence of the troops, uniting his forces with those under Nikitas, marched to the passes near the Isthmus, with a determination not to abandon them before Napoli surrendered. He had not been many days here before the Turks advanced with the intention of forcing the passes, but finding the Greeks posted on each side, they halted, when a parley ensued. After much recrimination and abuse on both sides, the infidels closed the conference, by asking how long the Greeks intended to remain in their present position, and on being answered "until you dislodge us," they immediately retired; a scarcity of ammunition, joined to his resolution of not quitting the fastnesses, prevented Colocotroni from pursuing the Turks on this occasion. The sufferings and privations of the Greek soldiers, whether employed before Napoli or in the passes, during November and the following month, were of the most harassing description. They had no shelter whatever at night, though exposed to the piercing cold and incessant storms, which prevail on the mountains of Greece at this period, and without any other covering than the rude Albanian mantle: while the daily ration of each man did not exceed half a pound of the coarsest bread. Those stationed at the Dervenachi, or passes, were frequently obliged to march over rocks and inaccessible crags from day-light till dark, and not unfrequently during the night. Nor was the situation of the blockading force before Napoli much better: it was

very rare for those to have their arms out of their hands, while they were either exposed to chilling blasts on the heights, or inundated with rain on the plain below. It is true, the sufferings of the Greeks here were trifling when compared with those of the Turkish garrison, which had been reduced to the last extremity of want, for some weeks before its capitulation. Nor was it until all the horses were consumed, and that many of the wretched soldiery were driven to the horrible necessity of subsisting on the carcasses of their fellow-sufferers, that those charged with the defence of the Palamida, or citadel, built by the Venetians on a mountain which overlooks the town, suffered themselves to be surprised by a party of Greeks, without making the least resistance. On scaling the wall, there were not more than thirty men found in that part of the fortress; and these had nearly the appearance of skeletons. Hearing that the Greeks had entered, the remainder of the Turks descended into the town by a covered way. Notwithstanding the dreadful condition of the garrison, Ali Bey hesitated to enter into terms, even after he discovered that the Palamida had been carried. But there was now no choice between immediate destruction and surrendering. The gates were therefore opened, on condition that the lives of the prisoners should be saved, and that they should be transported to the coast of Asia Minor, by the provincial government. Pursuant to the terms thus arranged, the Greeks took possession of this highly important place, on the 11th of January, 1823, the anniversary of St. Andreas, the patron saint of the Morea, a circumstance which could not fail greatly to enhance the value of the triumph, in the eyes of the people.

1822. Measures were immediately taken to procure ships from the islands for the transport of the garrison, agreeable to the terms of the capitulation; but Captain Hamilton, of His Majesty's ship *Cambrian*, happening to anchor in the bay, and perceiving the deplorable state of the Turks, exposed to an inclement season, without any means of existence, determined to receive them on board. Being accordingly embarked, and having experienced all those kind offices, from the officers and crew of the frigate, which religion and humanity dictated, they were soon after landed at Scula Nova. The conduct of the Greeks in not offering the smallest violence, or committing any excesses towards the garrison of Napoli, though it had been for several days in their power, previous to the arrival of the British ship, proves at least, that

they were not so insensible to the sentiments of compassion and mercy as their detractors have so often asserted. Without dwelling on the meritorious conduct of the Greeks, in this case, it may well be asked, what would have been the fate of a Christian garrison, thus taken by the Turks in a place that had held out as long as Napoli di Romania ?*

* As an excuse for the surrender of his friends, the Turks, on this occasion, Mr. Green makes the following note.—“ The Turks informed me,” says he, “ that they could have held out much longer, but for fear lest the hostages should suffer by their acts. It has been stated, that a capitulation of this strong fortress had been agreed upon, unless the garrison was relieved within a certain time. That for this purpose hostages had been exchanged, and a little island, which had a small fort on it, and was situated in the middle of the harbour, had been given up to the Greeks. Now, though the Turks could bring upwards of fifty heavy guns to bear upon it, yet when they were relieved, and the terms of the capitulation became void, the Greeks not only kept possession of the island itself, but absolutely hindered any ship from throwing provisions into the town. More than once the Pacha took courage, and ordered the fort to be blown to pieces ; and once the Greeks informed me, that had he continued the tremendous fire any longer, they should have surrendered. But they stuck up the Pacha’s son and the other hostages on the wall, and the poor father was obliged to give immediate orders to cease firing. It was thus by constantly threatening to destroy their hostages, that the Greeks compelled the Turks to suffer innumerable privations, to eat grass and human flesh, and ultimately to surrender, rather than allow one of them to be harmed. When the Cambrian received a remnant of this garrison, I saw a little girl of twelve years of age come on board gnawing the foot of an ass, the skin and sinews of which she had peeled off. Many of the others had just strength enough to get to the different ships, and then died. There was one curious trait in this siege, which I shall relate, as it affords an example how the Turks and Greeks feel towards each other, and how this patriotic war was conducted. Colocotroni, whose patriotism is on a par with his disinterestedness, got all his own followers into the town, and took particular care that none of the rabble should share in the plunder. Each man followed the example of their noble leader, and cared very little what the government got, provided he was satisfied. The rich Turks were too well acquainted with the power of a bribe not to know its effect on a Greek. They used, therefore, to call some one whom they had previously known, and tell him, ‘ Now I have got so much treasure ; I will give you the half of it, provided you allow me to retain the other half, and escort me to the ships : if you won’t do so, I will tell your companions, and they will then divide my property among them, and you will get nothing.’ A great number of such bargains were made. After this they were escorted to the different vessels ; and it is an odd circumstance, that although the various massacres of Navarin, Tripolizza, &c. had already taken place, yet comparatively few of the rich would come on board the Cambrian : they said they

The surrender of Napoli led to another triumph on the part of the Greeks, destined to form the last portion of that terrible fate which had awaited the army of Machmout Pacha. The object of the division which remained at Corinth, being to relieve the garrison of the above place, there was no longer any motive for its continuance there. Want of provisions had, besides, rendered a change of position absolutely necessary. The Turkish commanders, therefore, determined to march towards Patras, the blockade of which place had been lately neglected by the Greeks. Setting out about the middle of January, with nearly 3,000 men, of whom a large portion were cavalry, they had only advanced as far as Akrata, near Vostizza, when Lunda, who was returning from Missolonghi with a small body of troops, appeared on a height through which the road lay, while the infidels were reposing in a deep valley, and thus suddenly stopped their progress. There being no attempt made to force a passage, the Greek general had ample time to send off expresses for reinforcements, and was shortly joined by Petmezza, another distinguished chief, who occupied the opposite side of the valley. A new scene of horror was thus prepared for the devoted Turkish soldiers. Their scanty stock of bread being exhausted, they began to feed on the horses; when the whole of these were devoured, recourse was had to the herbs which grew on the surrounding rocks; having subsequently attempted to derive sustenance from their saddles, they were at last obliged to follow the shocking example furnished at Malvasia and Napoli.* The

knew the captains of such and such vessels, they were their friends, and to them they would go."—*Green's Sketches*, p. 135, 136.

* The following particulars of the horrid state of suffering to which this party were reduced, we take from Mr. Green.

"This division," says he, "was under the command of Delhi Achmet, the Delhi Bashi, or commander of the Cavalry of Dramali. The coast was for the most part bold and rocky, and the mountains run almost perpendicularly into the sea, leaving but a line of level road for the troops to march on. The Turks, half famished, disheartened, and weak, crept along the sea-shore as far as Akrata, within a few miles of Vostizza. Here there is a tongue of land that runs boldly into the sea, at the back of which are the Mavralitharia, or black rocks. The Greeks, who had tracked them narrowly, occupying the tops of the mountains, while their enemies marched at their bases, now determined to inclose them: for this purpose they dug deep trenches on each side of this tongue of land: thus the Turks were shut up on a piece of ground shaped like a T: the per-

blockade continued for nearly three weeks, when Odysseus, who had joined the other chiefs with about 200 men, chanced to recognise an old acquaintance in one of the two beys who commanded the Turks: negotiations were entered into by which those, who survived, obtained permission to embark, on condition of giving up their arms and effects. The beys were however conducted to Napoli di Romania as prisoners, and have been detained there ever since, without any effort being made by the Porte, either for their ransom or exchange. The number of Turks who perished thus miserably without firing a shot or drawing a sword in their defence, was estimated at two thousand. No apprehensions could be entertained from those who escaped, for they were nearly dying, when embarked on the gulph of Lepanto.

Such was the termination of the second campaign in the Morea; and upon the results of which, the Porte fondly calculated on restoring its iron sway over Greece. Instead, however, of realizing this hope, the loss of the Turks, whether by famine or the sword, could not be less than twenty-five thousand men in the Peloponnesus alone, while the total want of those military talents which enabled their predecessors to enter Europe in the fifteenth century, and their utter worthlessness as a political power, were never more strongly exemplified.—*Blaquiere*, p. 205—228.

pendicular portion represents the tongue, and the transverse figures the coast where the black rocks have been isolated by the two trenches. In this spot the Turks remained one month, and the privations they underwent almost exceed belief. Delhi Achmet himself told me that for three weeks they lived on horse flesh; that then they resorted to human flesh. They fought over the graves of their comrades whom they had buried in the morning, and dug up at night to satisfy the cravings of hunger.—*Sketches*, p. 138.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Operations in Acarnania.—State of the province.—Mavrocordato assumes the offensive.—Affair at Combatti.—The Traitor Gogo.—Marco Bozzaris.—Battle of Peta.—Retreat of the Greeks.—Calamos.—Defection of Varnachioti.—Death of Kiriakouli.—Omer Vrioni advances.—The passes are occupied by the Greeks.—Retreat to Missolonghi.—State of the Town.—Arrival of the Turkish Army before that place.—Preparations of the Greeks to defend themselves.—Perilous state of the garrison.—Succours arrive.—Departure of Mavromichalis.—General assault by the Turks.—They are repulsed with great loss.—Precipitate Retreat of the Enemy.—He is pursued to the Acheron.—Passage of that River.—Civil and Military organization of the Province.—Mavrocordato returns to the Morea.

1822. THOUGH on a much smaller scale, the operations in Epirus were scarcely less interesting than those of the Peloponnesus, since it was owing to the perseverance and gallantry of the chief employed in directing the former, that the enemy were prevented from invading the Morea from the north.

The state of anarchy and confusion in which Mavrocordato found Acarnania and Etolia, was more than sufficient to damp the ardour of an ordinary mind; but aware of the consequences which depended on his efforts, the Prince determined to bear up against every difficulty.* Having collected all the troops he could find at Missolonghi, and incor-

* It appears that Prince Mavrocordato is a most accomplished scholar, as well as a great statesman and warrior. In a letter from Lord Chores Murray to Sir Frederic Adam, the Prince is thus spoken of:

"Prince Mavrocordato has received me with so much hospitality, that I shall ever retain a lasting sense of his Highness's liberal principles and moderate and upright conduct. When I add, that he unites to all the first-rate qualities of a statesman, the most critical and accurate knowledge of his own language, as well as of the Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Wallachian, French, and Italian languages, and that he reads English with the utmost facility, and the most correct pronunciation, I feel I am only describing a patriot, a scholar, and a philosopher, worthy in every respect of your Excellency's good opinion."—*Blaquiere's Second Visit*, p. 110.

porated them into the newly organized levies, the whole did not amount to two thousand men, being less than half the number first proposed. With this force, he however took the field, and having passed the Acheron, or Asprotomos as it is now called, in the latter end of June, proceeded through Loutraki, towards the defiles of Macrinorous, where the Greeks could easily defend themselves, and arrange a more extended plan of attack, according as their numbers should increase. The Turks, who were posted in a far superior force at Combatti, attacked the left occupied by a part of the first regiment, on the 2d of July. The new system of tactics was now put into execution with such effect, that the enemy was soon forced to retreat, having been pursued to some distance by the Philhellenes, with a loss of thirty men in killed and wounded. Several days had been passed here, during which there were frequent skirmishes with the Turkish cavalry. Such was the success attending these, that the Greeks considered it no longer necessary to confine themselves to the defensive, and as the siege of Kiapha was carrying on with great vigour by a large body of Albanians, Marco Bozzaris, who had accompanied the Prince, expressed so much anxiety to go to the relief of his brave countrymen, and such confidence in the success of the enterprise, that he was at length allowed to set forward, with six hundred men, although the reinforcement had not yet arrived. In order to support this movement, the main body under General Norman, advanced to the village of Peta, while the Prince continued his rounds to the neighbouring districts, for the purpose of reconciling jarring interests, arming the people, and procuring the necessary supplies. Had the Greeks been aware of the number of the enemy, they would never have adopted the above plan; of which the imprudence soon became apparent; but they were deceived by the representations of an old Anatolican chief, named Gogo, whose subsequent conduct proved him to have been in communication with the Turks. The enemy having been secretly advised by Gogo, of the march of Bozzaris, attacked him at Placa, compelled him to fall back and retreat to the mountains. The separation of the forces, which were already so inferior to those of the enemy, could not fail to expose the small corps at Peta to the general attack, which now took place.

1822. The village of Peta is within a few miles of Arta, and built in a hollow, on each side of which rise

two lofty heights, rendering the position very strong. The Philhellenes were posted on the right, where the attack was expected to commence, and had two small pieces of mounted artillery. The first regiment, under Colonel Tarella, was placed in the centre, while a small corps of Cephalonians, commanded by Spirro Pauno, occupied the left. The remainder amounting to about eight hundred Greeks under Gogo, were posted in the village and on the height in its rear. The Turks were seen marching out of Arta at daylight on the morning of July the 16th. Their number was estimated at above six thousand men, of whom twelve hundred were cavalry. The latter took up several positions on the right, so as to intercept all communication with Combatti, and cut off the retreat of the Hellenists. The attack was commenced by a large body of Albanians, who rushed forward with loud shouts and waving of banners ; they were, however, received with such a brisk fire by the Philhellenes, that great numbers fell before they could reach the entrenchments. The fire of musketry had been maintained for above two hours, in the course of which time the Greeks had scarcely lost a man, whilst hundreds of the Albanians were strewed over the field, when it was reported that Gogo had abandoned the village, and fled with all his followers, thus enabling the Turks to turn the right flank of the Greeks. Having ascended the height in their rear, the Cephalonians, who had acted nobly, were overpowered and driven back on the regiment of Tarella ; when the Philhellenes also, unable to resist the torrent, were in their turn forced to give way, and abandoned the position. * The ground was immediately covered by the whole of the Turkish infantry, when a desperate conflict ensued ; once broken, it was impossible with such a disparity of numbers, to rally the troops, so that those who attempted to escape could only do so over the dead bodies of the enemy. Many of the officers and men performed prodigies of valour ; amongst others, the names of Dania, Tarella, Chauvassin, Heusmaun, and Migniac, were more particularly distinguished. The latter is said to have laid ten men at his feet, before he fell : the brave Colonel Tarella and Dania were also among the killed, as were many others whose names deserve a lasting record for their heroism on this occasion. General Norman, who commanded, was amongst the wounded, and escaped with difficulty. Having at length succeeded in gaining that part of the mountain, which was inaccessible to the enemy's

cavalry, those who escaped the carnage returned to the small village of Langado. Mavrocordato, who was some leagues from the scene of action, did not hear of the enemy's advance, until within a few hours of the attack ; and owing to the messenger having arrived in the night, some time was necessarily required to put the few men he had with him in motion. Setting out at day-break, he had not marched far before another express apprised him of the disastrous result of the battle ; upon which, there was no alternative but to return and form a junction with the remains of the army collected at Langado. On mustering their forces, it was found that the loss in killed did not exceed two hundred, of whom nearly one fourth were officers.* This loss fell infinitely short of what was anticipated, for besides the great disparity as to numbers, the manner in which they had been surrounded on every side seemed to render the retreat quite impossible. From Langado, the troops proceeded to Acracori, having left parties behind to watch the passes of Macrinoros. The only use made of their victory by the enemy, was to occupy Vonnizza on the southern shores of the gulph of Arta.

" * These foreigners," says Mr. Green, " were mostly officers who came, led either by ambition or need, to seek their fortunes ; but they were very soon disappointed, and therefore formed themselves into a band which General Norman commanded. They, and the Cephalonians, were surrounded by the Turks on all sides : the pass, which their allies, the Greeks, were to secure, had been given up, either through treachery or cowardice. The Albanians crept along the heights, and picked off and thinned their troops, one by one. At last they determined to cut their way through the Turks ; but these perceiving their intention, opened, and allowed them to pass, and then fired upon them from all sides. The Europeans placed themselves in parties, back to back, and retreated, while the Turks pressed them hard. A French officer, who was one of the few who escaped, told me that he was thus situated. A friend of his was opposed to a Turk who was a standard-bearer ; he seized the standard, and succeeded in cutting down the Turk, but was instantly assailed by the whole number who surrounded them. The Frenchman and another, in the mean time were retreating, when both fell into a deep ditch, in which, fortunately, there was much brushwood. The Turks, in the interim, had regained their standard, but not finding the Frenchman, left the spot. The two in the ditch, on looking up, saw most of their friends slaughtered, and the Turks busy in chopping off heads and ears ; they therefore very wisely kept close, and only stirred when it was dark. Norman died of his wounds ; and a whole packet of military ribbons and crosses fell into the hands of the Turks."—*Sketches*, p. 110.

The advance to Vonnizza was merely preparatory to an expedition which Reschid Pacha, who had recently arrived with four thousand Asiatics, intended to command in person, for the purpose of putting down the insurrection in Acarnania ; the jealousies which had arisen between this chief and Omer Vrioni were, however, favourable to the Greeks, and gave them time to recover from the effects of the disaster at Peta. With respect to the Albanians, they wished for nothing so much as delay, and as it was well known that they merely served the Porte as mercenaries, without feeling any interest in the success of the war, there is little doubt but these bands would have been as content to receive a bribe from one party as the other.

But notwithstanding the inactivity of the enemy, the situation of the Greeks had now become extremely embarrassing : the recent check, in which their best troops had been beaten, created such a panic among the inhabitants, that several thousand sought refuge in the mountains ; while the more helpless portion of the community fled to the desert islands of Calamos. The alarm was not a little increased by the arrival of the Capitan Pacha, with a formidable fleet, at Patras. It was truly fortunate, therefore, that Reschid Pacha did not act with more energy, as a well combined movement might have enabled him to complete what had been commenced at Arta, to overrun the province with the utmost facility. To crown these causes of terror, it was reported that the army of Machmout Pacha had succeeded in destroying the government in the Morea, and reconquered the whole country. What with the loss at Peta, and the panic that followed, the utmost force now united to resist the threatened dangers did not exceed a thousand men, while that of the enemy, which had passed on to Vonnizza, was more than four thousand. The Greeks, however, took post at Catouna, in order to guard the passes leading into the plains of Acarnania.

It was while matters were in this state of doubt and alarm that the system of neutrality, established by the late Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian islands, was manifested in a manner which requires to be placed on record. As those who took refuge in Calamos consisted almost exclusively of old men, women, and children, it was not likely that their presence on a desolate rock, which had never been thought of sufficient importance to require even a military post before the present contest, could tend in any way,

to violate the neutrality; while the wretched condition of the fugitives, without food or raiment, was such as to excite pity and commiseration in the most obdurate heart. An officer was, however, despatched to drive the wretched beings, who thus sought an asylum from British clemency, away, and they were accordingly forced to retrace their steps into Acarnania, without house or home, or the means of subsistence; for every thing had been destroyed or plundered by the Turks previous to their flight: indeed, many of the fugitives, among whom were the most beautiful women of Arta and Ioannina, had been unable to bring off their children. When it is added, that on leaving Calamos, these unhappy victims considered the whole country as being in full possession of the infidels, and that consequently certain death awaited their return, some notion may be formed of their situation at this crisis.

Whatever may have been the motive that dictated an act upon which it would be superfluous to make any comment, it had the effect of rousing the Acarnanians to a keener sense of their danger, and owing to the fears awakened for the safety of their families, numbers of the peasantry who had concealed themselves in the mountains, now flocked to Catouna, where the Greek force was soon doubled. Mavrocordato, who had established his head quarters at Vracori, in order to keep up the communication with Missolonghi and the Morea, as well as to watch the motions of the Turkish fleet, gave the command of this small corps to a chief named Varnachiotti, a man whom the wealth and influence he possessed in the province, rendered it necessary to conciliate, but who, like the infamous Gogo, was also destined ere long to betray his country, and pass over to the enemy. There was both in the present conduct and former history of this traitor, great reason to suspect his fidelity, for during the frequent skirmishes, which took place at Catouna, he never encouraged his troops to follow up the advantages they had gained. On the other hand, it was well known that he had been the warm friend of Omer Vrioni before the war. His indulgent treatment of all those Turks who fell into the hands of the Greeks, proved that he was looking forward to some secret plan of negotiation. Such, however, was the great influence of his family and connections, that Mavrocordato had no alternative in giving to him the command. The suspicions entertained with regard to

Varnachiotti, were in a great degree confirmed on the interception of some letters addressed to him by Chourschid Pacha. These began by proposing an exchange of prisoners, and concluded with offers of pardon to all the Greeks, if they would submit and return to their homes. This only served to irritate the minor chiefs, who went to Varnachiotti's quarters, and insisted on his proclaiming, that any one who should propose an accommodation with the infidels, should be that instant put to death.

1822. It was at this period that the Capitan Pacha's fleet, consisting of seventy sail, of which five were of the line, appeared in the waters of Patras, and even summoned the Greeks in Acarnania to lay down their arms, but being suddenly called away to co-operate with Machmout, and to relieve Napoli di Romania, it did not wait to know the result.*

* On reaching the gulf of Argos, the Capitan Pacha met the Greek fleet under Miaouli. Bearing down on the Greeks, who had not more than sixty of their light and badly armed vessels, Miaouli formed in line of battle between Spezzia and the main, determined to await the enemy. When the Turkish ships approached within a short distance of the island, a fire-ship was directed to stand towards them; she did so, and was soon locked in with an Algerine frigate. On perceiving this the Turks immediately hauled off, and made all sail, as if pursued by a fleet treble their number. Returning three days after, they stood into the gulf, as before, and were narrowly watched by the Greeks, who had maintained their position at the entrance. The latter made all sail after the enemy, and had already sent several fire vessels in advance.

This demonstration had the desired effect, as the Capitan Pacha made a signal, which was followed by the fleets tacking about, and steering to the eastward with all sail, nor was he heard of again till his arrival at Tenedos. Having anchored at this island, a violent storm came on, and drove a frigate and several smaller vessels on the rocks, where they were totally lost.—This was not the only disaster that awaited the infidel fleet. A division of Ipsariots, who had heard of the Capitan Pacha's approach, sailed directly, and taking advantage of the confusion into which he had been thrown by the late storm, sent in a fire-ship under the celebrated Canari, who had been so fortunate at Scio. The attempt was equally successful: fastening his grappling irons to the hull and rigging of a large seventy-four gun ship, it was in vain that the crew attempted to disengage her, and after burning to the water's edge she blew up with a tremendous explosion. More panic-struck than ever, the remainder of the fleet cut their cables, and with the Capitan Pacha at their head, sought shelter within the Dardanelles, to the very entrance of which they were pursued by the Ipsariots.—Thus ended the naval exploits of the Turks in 1822.

The failure of the expedition under Kiriakouli, who fell in the conflict which followed his disembarkation at Splanza, a small village north of Prevesa,* and the disappointment of Marco Bozzaris, added to the aspect of affairs in the Morea, having deprived the Souliotes of all hope of aid from their countrymen of the south, they were induced to accept the terms proposed to them, through the mediation of the British, at Prevesa, Mr. Meyer, who guaranteed their safe transport to the Ionian islands, with their baggage and arms. The firmness displayed by those who were entrusted with the defence of Kiapha was truly admirable, and fully justifies the praises which have been bestowed on a people who seem as if they had been destined to transmit the virtues of ancient republics down to modern times.

The fall of Souli placed so many troops at the disposal of Omer Vrioni, who now assumed the chief command in Acarnania, that he prepared to advance with an overwhelming force : and strong detachments had actually arrived in the immediate vicinity of the defiles early in October. The only chance now left to the Hellenists, of maintaining their ground, and preventing the whole province from being occupied by the enemy, was derived from the hope, that when the rainy season should commence, and there were no longer any means of procuring supplies, the Turks would retreat, and thus afford time for re-organizing the troops who had been dispersed subsequently to the disaster at Peta.

Though pressed in the most urgent manner to attack the enemy before he received any more reinforcements, Varnachiotti always contrived to defer it on some pretext or other : yet, the situation of the Greeks became every day more critical, and apprehensions were even entertained that the troops would disperse, if offensive operations were deferred much longer. These fears were fully realized about the middle of September, by the open defection of the traitor, who,

* On their being landed at Splanza, a few days after embarking at Chiarenza, the Mainotes were preparing to commence their march towards Kiapha, when a corps of two thousand Turks attacked them from the neighbouring heights. They defended themselves with great gallantry, and forced the infidels to retire with considerable loss. Nor would they have thought of re-embarking, but for the death of their leader Kiriakouli. This brave man fell just as he had shot Kiagah Bey, the same who had been defeated at Doliana, by Nikitas, during the campaign of 1821. The body of the Greek chief was born off by his soldiers, and conveyed for sepulture to Missolonghi.

not content with his own treason, induced the districts of Valtos and Xeromeros to submit to the enemy. On hearing this piece of intelligence, the Prince immediately united all the men he could collect, sent off expresses to the different chiefs upon whom he knew dependence could be placed, and took such other measures as were likely to restore some degree of order. Quitting the town himself, at 10 o'clock on the night of the 19th, he halted on the road, in order to rally some peasants who were flying in a state of panic, and continuing his way on the following days, the Prince reached Vracori on the 24th. His presence here had a great effect in restoring confidence among the people : several captains, followed by numbers of the armed peasantry, came in, and thus reinforced, the divisions marched on to Calavi, near Angelo Castro. This was the general rendezvous assigned for re-organizing the troops, and concerting a plan of future operations. Two thousand men having been collected, they were posted in such a way, as to stop the advance of the enemy on the side of Haspi, and Makada. The Prince himself took post with only a hundred men at the entrance of the mountains, and caused entrenchments to be thrown up.— From hence other messengers were sent to every part of the surrounding country, calling on the people to join the Patriot forces in repelling the enemy. A courier was also despatched to the Morea and naval islands, apprising them of what had occurred, and demanding succours ; there were, however, but slender hopes of relief from any quarter. Reduced to nearly one third, by the desertions which followed Varnachiotti's treason, it was impossible to maintain their ground at Coutouna ; the Greeks therefore stationed there, began their march towards Anatolica, where Mavrocordato had established his head quarters. After sustaining several partial attacks on their route, which lay along the borders of Lake Ozeres, they were forced to abandon the plains on the right bank of the Acheron, determined, if possible, to defend the passage of that river below Angelo Castro, where it was not fordable.

Mavrocordato had not been many days in his new position, before the enemy's army, which was increased to nearly thirteen thousand men, mostly Albanians, under Omer Vrioni in person, had passed the defiles of Xeromeros, guided by Varnachiotti ; it was supplied with a good park of artillery, and a large corps of cavalry ; and immediately advanced to Vracori. Both this place and the surrounding villages

were set on fire by the Greeks, to prevent their affording any shelter to the enemy. Marco Bozzaris, who had been unable to fulfil his generous intention of relieving Kiapha, occupied the defile of Dougri, while the troops posted at Calavia and Angelo Castro were obliged to fall back towards Anatolico. There were, however, several hundred families, who determined rather to seek a refuge on the numerous islets scattered over the lakes in the neighbourhood, than to quit the place of their birth. The Prince, whose left flank was threatened, also found it necessary to abandon the position he had fortified, as its defence was no longer of importance: he therefore proceeded along the borders of the Lake Soudi to Dervekista, where a junction was formed with Bozzaris.

The sudden abandonment of this position on the Acheron, by the party stationed to guard that pass under Macri, changed the situation of the Greeks: this retreat was caused by a false alarm, stating that a body of Turkish cavalry had crossed the river near Stamma. This circumstance, which was fortunately unobserved by the enemy, rendered it necessary for Mavrocordato to withdraw in all haste to the defile of Kerasova, where he vainly essayed to make a second stand, as it was now ascertained, beyond a doubt, that the Turks were really advancing on every side, and would soon be on the plains round Anatolico.

Xeromeros, Valtos, and Vracori, were now overrun, and there was but too much reason to fear, that others had followed the example of Varnachiotti, by joining the enemy, who had by this time advanced to the heights of Stamma, about five miles from Anatolico, and from which he could at any time descend on the plain to the very walls of Missolonghi. The loss of this place would have put the whole of Western Greece into the hands of the Turks, who might have then poured any number of troops into the Morea.

The conduct of Prince Mavrocordato, on this occasion, was marked by a degree of firmness and resolution, which has since placed him deservedly high in the estimation of the Greek people. It is indeed but a common act of justice to add, that the fate of Greece hung on the determination he now formed. Fortunately for the cause, he adopted the only plan which could afford a reasonable chance of saving the Morea.

Having put the remnant of his forces in motion, Mavrocordato set out from Anatolico, as if he intended to retreat

towards Salona, but turning suddenly round, he returned by a flank march on the village of Therasova, and entered Missolonghi on the 17th of October. The difficulties, which now presented themselves, were, however, far greater than any hitherto experienced.

1822. The population of this place, which had not exceeded two thousand, before the revolution, was now reduced to a few families who possessed no means of escaping; all those in better circumstances, having fled to the Morea and Ionian islands, on the enemy's approach. The town of Missolonghi is built on a perfect flat, and though its walls are washed by an arm of the sea, the water is so shallow, as not to admit the approach of any vessels larger than fishing boats, nearer than four or five miles. Its fortifications consisted of nothing more than a low wall without bastions, and surrounded by a ditch seven feet wide, by four in depth, and filled up with rubbish in many places. The parapet, which did not rise more than three feet above the counterscarp, was formed of loose stones, very much out of repair, and broken down in a number of places. Although the defence of this extensive line would require above three thousand men, the whole number of combatants whom the Prince had now with him, including those found in the town, did not amount to five hundred. The only cannon to be found within the walls, were four old ship guns, and a dismounted thirty-six pounder. As to ammunition, there was not sufficient for a month's siege, and with the exception of maize, every kind of provisions was extremely scarce. It was in a place thus destitute and exposed, that Mavrocordato and his followers formed the resolution of making a stand against an army of fourteen thousand men. For this purpose not a moment was lost in repairing the wall and clearing the ditch; a work in which, even the women were employed; the guns being placed in the most commanding points, all the houses built near the parapet were pierced with loop-holes, from which a fire of musketry could be kept up. In order to deceive the enemy as to their numbers, a quantity of bayonets found in the town, being made bright, were attached to poles, and arranged round the walls. When the president quitted Anatolico, it was agreed that Marco Bozzaris should occupy the passes through which the enemy would be likely to advance, between that place and the sea. The temporary occupation of this point enabled the Greeks to drive a quantity of cattle into Missolonghi.

They were, however, obliged to retire in two days, upon which Bozzaris, followed by a small detachment of Souliotes, succeeded in reaching the town, all the rest having dispersed among the mountains. A large division of the Turkish army appeared before the walls two days after, and immediately commenced a cannonade and fire of musketry, which continued with little intermission until the next day, when it was only suspended, to propose a capitulation.* Profiting by the stupidity of the enemy, in not attempting an attack, which must have ended in the total destruction of the Greeks, Mavrocordato, whose only chance of safety depended on gaining time till succours were sent, replied in such a way as to make Omer Vrioni imagine that his proposal would be accepted. Though these negotiations were frequently interrupted by the renewal of the enemy's fire, they enabled the Greeks to make considerable progress in their preparations for defence: such, however, was the total inadequacy of means and resources, that there seemed to be no hope of escape. Matters went on in this state of painful suspense until the morning of the 9th of November, when the Turkish brig and schooner, which had been sent to blockade the place, by Isouf Pacha, were observed to steer towards Patras; but the former being unable to reach the roadstead, owing to a strong southerly wind, bore up and stood for Ithica, chased by six vessels, on board of which the Greek flag was seen flying. The ships were followed by the eager eyes of the Prince and his brave followers, until night closed in, and they were once more left to ruminate on the perils of their situation. Although the appearance of this small squadron filled every breast with hope, yet a vigorous attack during the night might enable the infidels to render all opposition fruitless: as it fortunately happened, no attempt was made, and their joy may be readily conceived on the return of day-light, to perceive the whole of the Greek squadron anchored as near the town as it could be approached. Having chased the Turkish brig until she was run on the rocks of Ithica by her crew, the Greek commodore came to announce that a body of Peloponnesians were ready for embarkation at Chiarenza and Katakolo, destined for the re-

* One of the articles contained in this proposal required that Mavrocordato and about twenty others, whose names were mentioned, should be given up, as a preliminary to any negotiation in favour of the garrison.

lief of Missolonghi. A part of the ships was despatched on the following day for these most acceptable auxiliaries, and the remainder was joined by four Ipsariot vessels, thus forming a naval force, which was of itself calculated greatly to diminish the hopes of the enemy. The long-wished-for succours arrived on the 14th; they consisted of twelve hundred men, headed by Mavromichalis, who was accompanied by Andreas Lundo, of Vostizza, and Deligianapulo, both distinguished Maniote chiefs. These troops, having formed part of the army which had partaken in the victories gained on the plain of Argos and before Napoli di Romania, were flushed with the recollection of their recent successes, and could not brook the thought of remaining shut up within the walls of Missolonghi. A sortie was accordingly made on the 27th of November, in which a hundred and ten Turks were left dead on the plain, while the loss of the Greeks did not amount to more than twenty in killed and wounded.

Such were the cruelties and excesses which followed the arrival of the infidel army in Arcania and Etolia, that no sooner had the peasantry recovered from their consternation, than all those who had been able to retain their arms, rose, and greatly harassed the Turks by interrupting their communications, and preventing the arrival of any supplies.

In order to second these efforts of the people, it was determined that a part of the troops, sent from the Morea, should embark, and landing at Dragomeste, co-operate with the inhabitants of Valtos and Xeromeros, for the purpose of re-occupying the defiles, and thus effectually cut off the enemy's communication with Arta and Vonizza. The command of this expedition was assumed by Mavromichalis, who sailed for his destination on the 24th of December, 1822. His departure reduced the garrison so much, that Omer Vrioni, who had remained for two months without attempting an assault, now determined to take advantage of this circumstance. Knowing also that Christmas day was generally passed by the Greeks in the performance of religious rites, which would give them full occupation, he had an additional motive for carrying his design into execution at once.

Aware, from the movements of the Turkish camp, that something was in agitation, Mavrocordato, Bozzaris, and the other chiefs, held a council of war, at which it was decided, that every body should be on the alert during the night, and, contrary to the usual custom, the church-bells were not to be rung, lest the noise might prevent a knowledge of what

passed close to the walls. Both Mavrocordato and the other leaders continued to visit all the posts, so as to prevent surprise, and to give the necessary directions in case of an attack.

The plan of the Turks was to send eight hundred picked men, with scaling ladders, to the weakest point; these were to be followed by two thousand more, intended to draw off the attention of the Greeks, and induce them to quit their posts, while the first party entered the town. Other divisions of the enemy were to advance simultaneously on every side. The signal for commencing the attack was made at five in the morning of the 25th, by firing a gun. A tremendous cannonade began along the whole Turkish line, and was as briskly answered by the Greeks. The escalading party contrived to approach within a few yards of the wall unperceived, and had even fixed some ladders, which enabled a few of the Turks to pass the parapet; these were, however, instantly cut down; two standard bearers, who succeeded in planting the crescent on the walls, shared the same fate; all, in fact, who attempted to mount the wall, were precipitated into the ditch; and as the Greeks felt that their existence depended on the issue of this struggle, they vied with each other in acts of valour and boldness. Though short, the conflict which followed was both desperate and sanguinary, for when day-light broke, the whole of the glacies were seen covered with the dead. Though the Turks now perceived that they had nothing to hope from prolonging the contest, numbers continued to advance, for the purpose of carrying off their dead companions, not one of whom was suffered to escape. The infidels lost above twelve hundred men, and nine stands of colours, in this affair; while, incredible as it may appear, the utmost loss of the Greeks was only six killed, and about thirty wounded. Such was the result of an attack, upon the success of which the Turkish chief calculated so fully, that he assured those around him, it was his intention to dine at Missolonghi on the great anniversary of the Christians. The immediate effect of this signal discomfiture, was that of making the rising general throughout the neighbouring provinces: those who had entertained any dread of the enemy before, were now quite disengaged from their fears, and bands were found in all directions to cut off their retreat, whenever they attempted to re-cross the mountains. The only fear entertained by Mavrocordato was, lest the Turks should fly before the arming of the peasantry,

had been completed. On the other hand it required all the efforts of the chiefs to prevent their men from sallying forth at once, and grappling with the whole of the infidel army on the plain.

Omer Vrioni having sent Varnachiotti to Xeromeros, in order to procure provisions and forage, received a letter on the 31st, from the traitor, informing him that Rongo, whom Omer had sent into Valtos for the same object, had abandoned the cause he had feigned to espouse, the more effectually to deceive the enemy; and placing himself at the head of three thousand men, was marching to cut off Omer's retreat by Langoda; that the people of Xeromeros had flew to arms in spite of all his influence, and that Mavromichalis, at the head of fifteen hundred men, had just driven the Turks from Dragomeste, and was advancing to occupy the defiles by which the Pacha could alone effect his retreat to Vonizza.* The Turks, whose characteristic is fear, were so panic-struck by this intelligence, that it had not reached the camp two hours before their retreat commenced, with the greatest disorder. This was so sudden and precipitate, that they left the whole of their artillery, consisting of eight fine pieces of brass cannon, with a complete field train and tumbrils; two

* "It appears," says Mr. Green, "that Omer Vrioni decided on making an assault on the town, as the only chance left of gaining possession of it, owing to the succours received by the Greeks, the want of provisions in the Ottoman camp, and the loss of many hundred men by sickness. Having consulted with the other commanders, Omer fixed on the 6th instant for a general assault on the place, knowing that it was the day of the celebration of Christmas, according to the ritual of the Greek Church. Every thing being prepared, the signal for the attack was given before day break on the 6th; the advance posts reached the walls unperceived, and under cover of a heavy fire from the whole Turkish line, attempted to scale the walls. It seems that Mavrocordato was aware of the intended attack, and had made excellent arrangements to repel it; the garrison was ready on the first alarm, and flew to their posts. Suffice it to say, that the Greeks behaved with such courage, and the Albanians were so little versed in military tactics, that the latter were completely repulsed by the besieged, in the space of two hours, with the loss of upwards of three hundred and fifty men killed, besides many wounded. It is asserted that the Greeks did not lose seventy men in this affair, which indubitably reflects the highest honour on Mavrocordato, Marco Bozzaris, and the other chiefs. A few days after his defeat, Omer Pacha commenced a precipitate retreat, abandoning his guns, tents, and baggage, which have fallen into the hands of the Greeks, who, as soon as they discovered the retreat of the Ottomans, sent out part of the garrison to harass them."—*Sketches*, p. 126, 127.

howitzers ; ammunition and camp equipage, together with a large quantity of provisions and all the baggage. To increase their embarrassment, the infidels were scarcely in motion, when a detachment of five hundred men sallied from the town, and overtaking their rear guard at Kerasova, killed a great number. On reaching the Acheron, its waters were so swollen by the continued rains, that the enemy could not pass, so that they now found themselves enclosed on every side, and without provisions. It was while the infidels were in this situation, and meditating the means of escape, that a large division of the Greeks, under Marco Bozzaris appeared marching towards them. Such was the effect of this movement, that the Turks, more panic-struck than ever, determined to attempt the passage of the river rather than risk a battle. They accordingly plunged into the stream, and several hundreds were drowned in crossing, while those who did not adopt this perilous mode of saving themselves, were under the necessity of surrendering as prisoners to the Souliote Chief.

Having gained the right bank of the Acheron, the Turkish hordes had fresh enemies to contend with at every step, in the armed peasantry of Xeromeros, Valos, and the other districts through which their line of retreat lay ; so, that, of the large force brought into Acarnania only three months before, not more than half the number escaped ; nor did the fugitives stop, before they reached Arta and Anarcori beyond the passes of Macronorus. With respect to Mavrocordato, whose firmness and perseverance, during this most arduous period, are above all praise, he was now enabled to realize his favourite plan of civil organization. A local junta being formed at Missolonghi, measures were immediately adopted for carrying the law of Epidaurus into effect throughout Acarnania and Etolia. Arrangements were also made for reorganizing the military system of the provinces. The importance of Missolonghi being now more apparent than ever, it was determined that a moment should not be lost in remodelling its dilapidated fortifications ; the completion of this task was considered so urgent, that in addition to the regular working parties, the inhabitants, of whom considerable numbers returned after the retreat of the enemy, were called upon to assist in throwing up the new works. This call being readily obeyed, they proceeded with such alacrity and spirit, that in less than three months, Missolonghi was placed in a state of perfect security from all future attacks ;

these important objects accomplished, the President re-embarked with all the troops that were not required for the defence of the town, and crossed over to the Peloponnesus, where he arrived in the early part of April, after an absence of ten months."*



CHAPTER XIX.

National Congress assembled at Astros.—Proceedings which took place there.—Proclamation to the people.—The Seat of Government is transferred to Tripolizza.—Preparation for opening the Campaign.—Movements of the Turks.—Operations in Livadia.—Retreat of Isouf Pacha.—The Campaign is opened at Acarnania.—Advance of Mustapha Pacha.—Defection of the Albanians at Prevesa.—Marco Bozzaris marches to Carpensia.—Arrival of the Turkish Army.—It is attacked in the night by the Greeks.—Heroism and death of Marco Bozzaris.—Constantine Bozzaris is named to the command.—Proceedings of the Capitan Pacha.—Execution of six prisoners.—Operations in Candia.—Capture of Thisamos and Selinon.—Gallantry of the Greek squadron under Macromure.—The Turkish fleet returns to the Dardanelles.—Re-capture of Corinth.—Brave defence of Anatolico.—Difficulties among the heads of Government.—Conduct of Metaxa.—Executive dismissed.—Sketches of some of the Chiefs.—Arrival of Lord Byron and Col. Stanhope.—Arrival of the loan.—Mutiny of the Suliotes.—Mavrocordato.—Difficulty of obtaining the loan.—Death of Captain Sass.—Col. Stanhope establishes two newspapers.—Anti-Patriots.—Ulysses seizes the Government money.

ACCORDING to the law of Epidaurus, the election for the 1823. second period should have been completed by the first of January, 1823, but this was impossible, owing to the proximity of the seat of war and long continuance of the campaign. A circular had, however, been sent forth by the executive immediately after the fall of Napoli di Romania, directing that the new elections should commence forthwith, prescribing the mode of carrying them on, so as to pre-

* Blaquiere, p. 229—254.

vent improper returns ; and pointing out the necessity of selecting only such men as had given unequivocal proofs of patriotism and public virtue. The members were invited to join the executive at a small town called Astros, situated in one of the numerous vallies that border the gulf of Argos ; as the position of this place afforded an easy communication with the islands, as well as the Morea and other points of the confederation. The members of the government, who had passed some weeks at Castries, on the coast opposite Hydra, proceeded to Astros early in March, but more than a month elapsed before the whole of the deputies and military chiefs had arrived. So great was the anxiety of the people to participate in the deliberations, that in addition to the prescribed number of representatives, not less than fifty delegates were sent from different places, with petitions praying for permission to be present in the national congress. Besides the soldiery, there was a large concourse of visitors drawn to the spot, from motives of curiosity, and the interest so universally taken in the issue of the proceedings.

In order to secure the concurrence of all parties, and give greater unity to the political system, one of the first proposals made by Prince Mavrocordato, on his arrival at Missolonghi, was that of transferring the powers confided to the three local Juntas of Epirus, Livadia and Peloponnesus, to the central government. The meetings commenced on the 10th of April, and were held in a garden under the shade of orange trees. While the deputies and delegates, amounting to nearly three hundred, were occupied in the debates, which began soon after sunrise, the citizens and soldiers were mingled promiscuously outside, where, being shaded from the heat of the sun by a grove of olive trees, they also discussed every point connected with the public interests, with as much zeal as their representatives, and waited the termination of each sitting with the greatest anxiety. The temper and spirit which prevailed during the meetings, will be best appreciated by a short summary of what took place.

At a preparatory meeting of the 10th, the following oath was administered to each member: " I swear in the name of God and my country, to act with a pure and unshaken patriotism ; to promote a sincere union, and abjure every thought of personal interest in all the discussions which shall take place in the second national Congress." The Congress then proceeded to nominate a President for the second period, in the person of Mavromichalis, after which, commissions were

formed to revise those points in the constitution that had been found most susceptible of improvement, as well as to inquire into the state of the confederation generally. After having heard reports on the various subjects of religion, public justice, finance, the military force, and civil administration, the assembly came to the following resolution relative to the modification suggested by the commission appointed to inquire into the political code. "The second Constituent Assembly of Greece, after having introduced those changes and improvements into the constitution, rendered necessary by experience, and the interests of the nation, decrees, first : that the political code of Greece, which shall be henceforth called the LAW OF EPIDAUROS, be entrusted to the fidelity of the legislative body, executive government, and judicial authorities ; it is also consigned to the safeguard of the people, and to the patriotism of all the Greeks. Secondly : that the executive cannot enact laws, or make innovations on the said law of Epidaurus, under any circumstances whatever. Thirdly : that the constitutions thus revised and ratified by the universal consent, shall be immediately promulgated throughout the confederation. Fourthly : that the original document, signed by all the members and delegates composing the present assembly, shall be deposited in the archives of the legislative body."

The above important point being settled, on the 25th, a number of minor details next occupied the Congress. An article of the constitution, which provided for the sale of national property, was suspended, in order that the possession of these immense domains, formerly held by the infidels, might facilitate the financial operations of the government abroad, and prevent the loss which could not fail to attend their being disposed of under existing circumstances. The executive was, however, empowered to dispose of all perishable materials, such as houses, mills, shops, caravansaries, mosques, baths, and oil presses. Thanks were also decreed to the ship owners of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsaria, for their naval exertions during the war. Towards the close of the meetings, discussions took place, and regulations were made relative to the best mode of meeting the current expenses of the ensuing year, and the executive recommended to adopt such steps for replenishing the treasury, as were allowed by the constitution. The project of the law for the establishment of provincial governors and local magistracy, was next submitted to Congress, and confirmed. It being impossible to

determine on a criminal code without farther inquiry and examination, the executive was empowered to make selections from the code Napoleon, and to organize the tribunals *pro tempore*.

1823. The labours of Congress closed on the 30th of April, when it was decreed that unless circumstances rendered it necessary, the assemblage of a third National Congress should be deferred for two years; and that in order to prevent the people from being too much hurried in the choice of their representatives, the executive should give three months' notice of the convocation. The seat of government being established at Tripolizza, *ad interim*, it merely remained for the Congress to state the result of its proceedings, and this was done in the following address to the people.

“The national war of the Greeks for the assertion and maintenance of their independence, continues for the third year; during this period, the tyrant has not been able to succeed against us, either by land or sea, whereas thousands of the enemy have fallen victims to the temerity of their leaders. Fortresses have been reduced, new acquisitions of territory made, whilst the thunder of our arms has resounded to the very walls of Byzantium.

“It was at Epidaurus that Greece had the happiness of first manifesting its will as an Independent state, establishing a national government, and instituting its fundamental laws. After a lapse of sixteen months, the second assembly of the people has been convoked at Astros; this, after having examined the political code conformably to the wishes of the nation, has decreed various ameliorations required by the common interest. The state of finances, public accounts, and national resources, have also been carefully discussed, and the necessary measures adopted for maintaining a force, both naval and military, which shall set all the future threats of the enemy at defiance. Agreeably to the law happily instituted at Epidaurus, it is hereby decreed, that the second period of the provisional government shall henceforth commence, and be left to perform the great duties committed to its vigilance and patriotism. Previous to its separation, it remains for the National Congress to proclaim, in the name of the Greek people, and in the presence of God and man, the political existence of the Hellenists and their Independence, for the acquirement of which, the nation has shed torrents of blood, with the unalterable resolution of

every individual of the confederation, either to maintain the freedom they have conquered, or descend to the tomb with arms in their hands, as becomes men resolved to combat for the rights of nature, and the holy religion they profess. Deprived of their liberties and property, exposed to unheard-of cruelties, by those who have ever been strangers to justice and humanity, the natives of an heroic soil, always keeping in mind the glory of their ancestors, feel that, in shaking off the yoke of barbarism, and liberating their country, they have only performed a sacred duty, called for no less by the obligations of religion, than the progress of civilization.

“It has been among the objects of the present Congress, elected by the free and unbiassed choice of the people, to declare to the whole universe—1st. The justice of the war in which they are engaged for the preservation of the national Independence. 2dly. The anxious desire of the Greek people to regain the knowledge they had lost by centuries of oppression; and to be numbered among the enlightened nations of Europe, to which they still look for sympathy and support. 3dly. To thank in the name of the whole nation, the military and naval forces which have, during the two last campaigns, so bravely fought the battles of their country, destroying above fifty thousand of the enemy. 4thly. To express its thanks to the provisional government, as well as the local juntas, more especially the Senate of the Peloponnesus and Areopagus of Western Greece, for the zealous and disinterested manner in which they have performed their arduous duties.

“In thus closing its labours, the National Congress implores the OMNIPOTENT FATHER of all, to extend his Almighty protection to the people of Greece, and crown their efforts with success!” •

When it is considered that this was only the second time of a general assembly of the Greeks, since the Achaian league, which enabled their ancestors to resist the whole power of Rome, nothing would have been more natural than to expect a great degree of jealousy among chiefs, whose recent triumphs had given them such claims to pre-eminence, or of confusion in the proceedings of men so unaccustomed to the business of legislation. Yet, with the exception of a temporary misunderstanding between the generals and legislative body, relative to the propriety of alienating national domains at once, or waiting till the conclusion of the war, it would be difficult to conceive a scene of greater harmony.

The promulgation of the address was followed by the immediate transfer of the executive and legislative body to Tripolizza, where immediate steps were taken for opening the third campaign. As, however, the enemy had been so effectually crippled during the preceding year, some weeks elapsed before any movement was attempted by the Turks, who thus offered time for the provisional government to organize the best mode of prosecuting the war. As the invasion of the Morea and the operations in Arcania had rendered it impossible for the people to cultivate their grounds, little could be expected from the ensuing harvest : an arrangement was however made, by which the national property and forthcoming crops, estimated at twelve millions of Turkish piastres by the finance commission, were farmed out for about a third of that sum, and this, together with a few millions, furnished by the zeal of patriotic individuals, was all Greece had with which to enter the field a third time against the whole military and naval power of the Ottomans.

Although so inactive during the early part of the summer, the enemy was by no means idle afterwards. A fleet consisting of seventeen frigates and above sixty smaller vessels of war and transports, filled with troops, ammunition and provisions, was despatched for the purpose of supplying the fortresses still held in Negropont, Candia, and the Morea. Owing to the impossibility of preparing the Greek ships in time, this was effected without opposition at Carystus, Canea, Coron, Modon and Patras, where the Capitan Pacha arrived about the middle of June.*

1823. With respect to the plan of operation projected by the enemy on shore, it was infinitely better than that of last year ; while the forces destined to carry it into effect were far superior both as to numbers and leaders. An army

* The following letter from Mr. Green, contains some important and interesting information. It seems from this, that to the end of the campaign of 1823, the Turkish combined fleet literally did nothing.—It appears also that the Albanians, though soldiers by trade, could not be brought, in this instance at least, to fight against the Greeks.

Zante, 23d August, 1823.

“ The Turkish fleet, consisting of forty-six sail, under the command of Mahomet Isref, Capoudan Pacha, passed Zante on the 18th June, on its way to Patras, where it arrived two days after. When off Missolonghi several boats were found trafficking with the Greeks, and consequently were seized by the Turkish Commander ; however, on

of twenty-five thousand men having been assembled at Larissa early in June, it was formed into two divisions, intended to act at separate points : one of these, under Isouf Pa-

my agent requesting their liberation, his demand was complied with in the most courteous manner. The Capoudan Pacha immediately instituted a strict blockade of Missolonghi, and issued a manifesto respecting the same, which was forthwith acknowledged by the Ionian Government. The blockade has been kept up with tolerable strictness, but nevertheless several boats have contrived to elude the vigilance of the Turkish cruizers, and have landed their cargoes of provisions at the small islands in the neighbourhood of Missolonghi.

As I deemed it advisable to be present at Patras during such an interesting period, I proceeded there the first week in last month, returned here on the 20th, and performed my quarantine of fifteen days in the wretched Lazaretto of this place.

I was well received by the Ottoman naval commander-in-chief, who treated me in the handsomest and most courteous manner.—His Highness paid the greatest attention to various representations which it was my duty to make, respecting some Ionian boats and cargoes detained by him, for breach of blockade : these he released at my request, as also two Cephaloniot subjects who had been made prisoners by him in Negropont, having been taken in arms with the insurgents.

The Capoudan Pacha appeared to me to be a quiet shrewd man, not at all sanguinary, but rather endeavouring to accomplish his designs by conciliatory measures than by force of arms. He has the reputation of possessing some general knowledge of seamanship, although as an European he would be justly considered very deficient in that science. In several interviews I had with him, he was very inquisitive concerning our naval affairs : among other subjects he asked me if it was still the custom in the British navy to punish seamen by flogging them on their naked backs, as he recollected was the case when he was in Egypt, co-operating with Lord Nelson.

About the middle of July, the Turkish fleet was joined by the Algerine and Tunisian squadrons, and the combined force then amounted to sixty ships of war, and a few transports. The generality of the vessels are in good order and condition ; I was particularly struck with the appearance of the frigate bearing the Capoudan Pacha's flag ; she is a handsome new vessel, built at Constantinople, mounts fifty-two long guns, kept particularly clean, and as far as I could observe, on deck and below, greater discipline was enforced than could have been expected. Up to the present time this large fleet has remained quite inactive ; indeed, the only occupation of the Capoudan Pacha appears to have been the granting of licences to a number of Austrian, Ionian, and Maltese vessels, to proceed up the Gulph of Corinth, for the avowed purpose of buying currants at Vostizza from the Greek proprietors. Of course, it is stipulated, that on the return of these vessels with their cargoes, the purchasers shall pay a certain sum by way of duty, but, in fact, as a bribe for obtaining leave to traffic with Greek blockaded ports, and to which places they also convey supplies of provisions and ammunition, concealed under the ballast, besides large sums of money to pay for

cha of Bercoffeeli, marched towards Thermopylæ, while the other led on by Mustapha Pacha, proceeded to the pass of Neopatra near Zetouni. The Greeks posted here, being too

the fruit ; thus furnishing to the Greeks means to carry on the war against the Ottomans.

During my stay at Patras, I was obliged to live on board the vessel, as there was no accommodation on shore ; I, however, paid a visit to an old acquaintance, Ali Pacha,* who held the Pashalik of the Morea, on my arrival in 1818, and who I visited at Tripolizza to present the customary presents on my nomination. He had soon afterwards been raised to the dignity of Grand Vizier, but did not long enjoy that post ; was disgraced and sent into banishment, where he remained until ordered to join the army which occupied Corinth, in 1822. Ali recognized me immediately, appeared much pleased with my visit, and made many apologies for not being able to treat me as he had done on our first acquaintance ; in truth his condition was much changed, and his spirits were evidently dejected ; he was without money, and consequently had few attendants : he received, with evident satisfaction, a supply which had been sent him through me, by his family at Constantinople, though it amounted only to about 100*l.* sterling.

After my visit, I traversed the ruins of the once beautifully situated and populous town of Patras ; of four thousand houses, only ten or twelve remained, and those under the walls of the fortress. The rest of the town was so completely destroyed, that I was unable to find the site of my own house until it was pointed out to me, and I then only recognized it by the pedestal of my flag-staff, which yet remained, and the stocks of two favourite orange trees, which, though burned close to the ground, were beginning to shoot out in fresh vigour through the surrounding ashes.

When I took leave of the Capoudan Pacha, he presented me with a handsome cashmere shawl, in return for which, I sent him from hence one of Dollond's silver tubed telescopes.

Soon after I quitted Patras, the Turkish Admiral received a visit from the British naval commander-in-chief, Sir Graham Moore, accompanied by Sir Frederick Adam, acting Lord High Commissioner. The ostensible object of their visit was to represent to the Capoudan Pacha, that several irregularities had been committed by the Turkish vessels under his orders, towards Ionian boats. Our naval and military commanders-in-chief were received by the Turkish High Admiral with every mark of respect, and with the honours due to their rank : their representations were attended to, and they departed apparently satisfied with the result of their conference. The British squadron consisted of five vessels ; the Rochfort, eighty-gun ship, carried the admiral's flag : the appearance of the squadron, but more particularly their manœuvres, excited the admiration of the Turks. Two days after the departure of the English squadron, the Capoudan Pacha sent to Zante

* This is not the Ali Pacha of Ioannina, who, the reader will remember, came to a tragical death the year before this was written

weak to attempt making any resistance, withdrew, so that the enemy was enabled to advance into Livadia unopposed, and encamped at Nevropolis on the 20th of June. Still unable to cope with the Turkish division, the Greeks contented themselves with occupying the passes through which this force had entered the province.

In the meanwhile, Isouf continued to occupy and lay waste the whole country round Parnassus and Livadia, murdering all the inhabitants who had not escaped to the mountains or marshes near the lake Copaes : he also attacked a small corps which had thrown up entrenchments on the high road between Rachova and Delphi, but was repulsed with considerable loss : returning a few days after, the enemy was more successful, and having turned to the right of the Greeks, advanced to both the above named places, to which he set fire, after plundering whatever had been left by the fugitive peasantry.

Odysseus, who had been waiting at Athens until the contingent despatched from Tripolizza under Nikitas passed the Isthmus of Corinth, set out on the 28th of June : leaving orders that all the forces collected in Attica and Bœotia should follow, he proceeded to Megara with five hundred men, and embarking there, sailed up the gulph and joined Nikitas at Dobrena. The two chiefs lost no time in advancing towards the enemy, and soon reached the heights in

handsome presents of sabres, shawls, &c. for the Admiral, General, and other officers who had paid him a visit.

Isouf Pacha has just arrived at the Morea Castle from Prevesa, with a few attendants, on board a Turkish vessel. It appears he had collected together a body of 10,000 Albanians, and formed his camp near Arta.—After having advanced his men two months' pay, and prepared every thing, the Pacha set out on his march towards Missolonghi, which place he intended to invest, but had scarcely quitted the environs of Vonizza, when the troops simultaneously mutinied, pillaged the baggage, and dispersed. Isouf Pacha, and his immediate attendants, with difficulty reached Prevesa. Thus terminated the exertions of an able commander, who quitted his post to raise an army at his own private expense, with which he hoped to gain possession of Missolonghi, a town that from its position had for so long a time materially annoyed Turkish operations in the Gulf of Lepanto. There can be little doubt that this defection was caused by the intrigues of Omer Vrioni, who himself having failed in the attempt to reduce Missolonghi, was jealous of the talents of Isouf Pacha, who, he had reason to fear, might be more successful."

* Green's Sketches, p. 151—156.

sight of Isouf's camp. A system of guerilla warfare was now commenced, and the Turks were so harrassed, that they soon retreated in the greatest disorder, pursued by the Greeks, who killed numbers, and took a large quantity of their baggage.

The second division, under Mustapha, waited on the plain of Thebes for the result of Isouf's operations, in order to advance towards the gulf of Lepanto, but the retreat of his coadjutor having enabled the Greek chiefs to alter their plans, Odysseus pushed on to attack this division, which he forced to take refuge in Negropont, leaving behind most of its baggage and military stores. The Turks had scarcely reached Carystus, when Odysseus appeared before it, and established a rigorous blockade. After these successes, which removed all apprehension of any new attack on the side of Corinth, Nikitas proceeded to Salona to co-operate with the inhabitants in the preparations making for the defence of that place and its neighbourhood.

The management of the war in Arcania being confided to Mustapha, Pacha of Scutari, with Isouf, the Pacha of Serres, as his second in command, they found such difficulty in organizing a sufficient force, that the whole of June and July was passed in preparing a corps of eight thousand men at Prevesa. Isouf had taken up a position at Ponda, a village close to the ancient Actium, there to await the Pacha of Scutari. The latter was advancing with his own troops, and a large contingent furnished by the Pacha of Thessaly. Marco Bozzaris was at Katochi, between Missolonghi and Vonizza, with Joncas of Agrapha,* to whom he had been reconciled after a long enmity. Their utmost force did not exceed twelve hundred men, but with these it was decided they should continue closely to watch the motions of the enemy. While, however, Mustapha was on his march from Agrapha to Vracori, fully expecting to be joined there by the troops at Prevesa, the Albanians, who formed the flower of Isouf's army, no sooner received the allowances usually made before entering the field, than they mutinied, threatened the life of their commander, and after committing numerous excesses, withdrew to their respective homes. Even Isouf's tent was not spared on this

* Joncas was highly distinguished before the war, as Protopalicarou, or second in authority to the famous Klepthis Katsandoni, who frequently defeated the armies, and ultimately succeeded in setting the whole power of Ali Pacha at defiance.

occasion, while he himself only escaped by embarking and flying to Patras with a few of his attendants. The cause of this mutiny and desertion was afterwards traced to Omer Vrioni, who had become jealous of Isouf's military fame, and determined to strip him of all means of co-operating with Mustapha in the present campaign. He accordingly succeeded in persuading the Albanians to join his own standard, and took post at Lepadore, to the right of the Acheron, with four thousand men. On reaching Patras, Isouf Pacha sent a body of troops to be landed at Crionero, not far from the position of Marco Bozzaris, with orders to attack the Greeks in flank. Apprised of their landing, the Souliote chief fell on the Turks, and having either killed or taken prisoners more than two thirds of the whole number, the rest were glad to escape to their boats.

Hearing that a division of two thousand men was advancing on the side of Valtos, Bozzaris sent a detachment in that direction to prevent their approach, while he himself determined to dispute the entrance of Mustapha Pacha into Arcania. To effect this important object, it became necessary to undertake one of those extraordinary forced marches, which have so frequently secured victory to the Greeks during the present contest. It was this alone which enabled him to reach Carpenisa in time to prevent the consequences that must have followed a sudden invasion by Mustapha. The enemy's army reached the frontier of Arcania on the 19th of August, and encamped on an extensive plain near the above place: it amounted to fourteen thousand men, while the Greeks could with difficulty collect two thousand. Undaunted by such fearful odds, Bozzaris, whose previous gallantry had awakened the most flattering hopes of his future heroism, was now destined to exceed the most sanguine anticipations of his friends and admirers. A general council of the chiefs and soldiery being summoned, Marco pointed out the impossibility of making a regular attack on the enemy, while on the other hand, their country and its cause were irretrievably lost, if they did not take advantage of the night, and endeavour by an act of boldness, required by the interests of their country, to prevent the Turks from entering the plains round Missolonghi. This opinion being acquiesced in by all present, he addressed his companions a second time, and having drawn a flattering picture of the glory which awaited those who took part in the intended attack, as well as the service they were about to render Greece,

the hero called upon those who were ready to die for their country to stand forward. The call was answered by four hundred men, chiefly Souliotes, who according to the ancient practice of Souli, when they are determined to conquer or die, threw away their scabbards, and embraced each other. Having selected three hundred to act immediately about his own person, Bozzaris directed that the remainder of the troops should be formed into three divisions, for the purpose of assailing the enemy's camp at different points, while he penetrated to the centre with his own chosen band.

1823. Every thing being prepared by midnight on the 19th July, the last words of Bozzaris, on assigning to each chief and soldier the part he had to perform, were, "If you lose sight of me during the combat, come and seek me in the Pacha's tent." He then set forward closely followed by the sacred battalion, while the three Stratarchs, or minor chiefs, destined to make their attack at separate points, also proceeded to their stations. In order that this should be simultaneous, it was agreed that not a shot was to be fired, or a sword drawn, until they heard a bugle sounded. Bozzaris was enabled to advance by addressing the Turkish sentinels in the Albanese language, and telling them he came with reinforcements from Omer Vrioni. On reaching the centre he sounded the bugle, upon which the attack commenced on every side. The enemy, either unprepared or panic struck, fled in all directions, while those who resisted, frequently mistook their comrades for enemies, perishing by each other's hands. While dealing death around, and encouraging his companions to profit by so favourable a movement, the voice of Bozzaris was recognized, and just as he had ordered the chief Pacha to be seized, a ball struck him in the loins: though the wound was dangerous, he concealed it, and continued to animate the men, until wounded a second time in the head, when he fell, and was borne from the field by a party of soldiers. Notwithstanding this disaster, the struggle was maintained with the utmost spirit till day-light, at which time the Greeks saw themselves undisputed masters of the field; those of the enemy who did not perish, having abandoned their camp, leaving the ground covered with the dead, eighteen standards, a quantity of baggage and ammunition, together with a number of horses, and several thousand head of oxen. While the loss of the infidel army could not be less than three thousand men, that of the Christians was only thirty

killed, and seventy wounded; of these, about half were Souliotes. Brilliant as this triumph must be regarded, it was the most dearly bought of all those acquired by regenerated Greece. Though unblessed with the advantages which science and education bestow, Marco Bozzaris was endowed with all those manly virtues and that simplicity of character, which are only to be found in the heroes of Plutarch. His conduct from early life, whether in his capacity of citizen, patriot, or soldier, had excited the hopes, and won the admiration of the whole Greek people. Surely the last act of his life will bear an advantageous comparison with the most envied moment in that of Leonidas, or the hero of Mantinea! Greece will long have to deplore this irreparable loss. Yet it would have been impossible to die a more glorious death; and, however slender the hopes of replacing such a man may be, the event cannot fail to exercise a most salutary effect on those who are left to sustain the contest; while, if antiquity could boast a name, which has served as a never fading illustration to poets, orators, and historians, modern Greece may safely put forth that of Marco Bozzaris, as being scarcely less entitled to the palm of immortality.*

On discovering their loss, the eyes of the Greek chiefs and soldiers were immediately turned on Constantine, the hero's elder brother, who was named his successor with ac-

* Those qualities which had raised Marco Bozzaris so high in the estimation of his countryman, and which would have perhaps led to his being one day the first in rank as he was in virtue, have been detailed in a spirited sketch of the hero's life, which has appeared in the *New Monthly Magazine*. Nor is it possible to peruse the account there given, without fancying that we are reading the life of a Greek captain in the days of Pericles or Phocion.

The last moment of the Souliote chief must have been greatly embittered by the recollection that his wife and children were to be left completely unprovided for. I saw Madam Bozzaris and her two fine boys at Ancona, when on my way to Greece last year; she is a very interesting young woman, and was then far advanced in pregnancy. Nothing could be more destitute than her situation after the death of her husband, and were it not for the pious and benevolent Metropolitan Ignatius, there is reason to fear that the widow of a man whose memory may be one day hailed with scarcely less veneration than that of Timoleon or Leonidas, would have been reduced to the lowest stage of poverty and want. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the provisional government has not as yet possessed any means whatever of providing for a family which has such irresistible claims on the sympathy of all Greece.

clamation. When he had paid the last sad duties to the manes of his departed relative, a party of Souliotes were sent to convey the body to Missolonghi for sepulture, while the remainder of the troops, headed by their new leader, took up a position, whence they could watch the future movements of the enemy, and prevent his advancing.

It has been already stated, that the Capitan Pacha's fleet had arrived in the waters of Patras, about the middle of June. Although the professed object of his visit was to co-operate with the military leaders on shore, the latter derived very little benefit from his appearance. One of the first acts of the Pacha was that of declaring Missolonghi and every other port possessed by the Greeks, in a state of rigorous blockade, although he had neither the courage nor energy to enforce it. A number of vessels under the Ionian flag were seized at the same time, while several light ships had orders to cruise about the islands, to examine all the vessels they should meet. Such was the effect of this measure, that the whole of the islanders who had any commercial concerns, regarded themselves in a state bordering on close blockade, for being aware of the excesses in which Turkish sailors indulged, and that the mere fact of being visited by an infidel cruiser, subjected them to a long quarantine, none of the Ionians would venture to sail; so that their commerce was completely interrupted for several weeks. The little respect shown to the British flag by the barbarians was also most strikingly exemplified in the murder of six passengers, taken in a boat belonging to Corfu, and which sailed from that island soon after the arrival of the Turkish fleet at Patras. This vessel was boarded off the island of Paxos, and though her papers were perfectly regular, she was taken into Prevesa, when the passengers were brought before Isouf Pacha, then waiting for the contingents from Albania, and after a short examination he ordered them to be hung up within a few hundred yards of the English Consul's door. The motive of this outrage, as well as the steps taken to prevent and resent it, are still unknown both to the Greeks and Ionians,

Notwithstanding the difficulties which opposed the sailing of the Greek fleet, until so late a period of the season, Emmanuel Tombasi, the Hydriot admiral, was supplied with a body of fifteen hundred men, and a small squadron, with which he proceeded to Candia early in June, having been

previously named Harmostis,* or Captain General of all Crete. Landing near Kisamos on the 6th, he ordered the ships to blockade the port, while he should attack the town by land. A proposal was, however, first made to the Turkish garrison to capitulate, and they agreed to accept it; but on hearing that the Capitan Pacha was at sea, they retracted, and broke off the parleys which had commenced. Being soon after attacked from two batteries, which were mounted under the direction of Mr. Hastings, who accompanied the Captain General as head of the artillery, the Turks were glad to renew the negotiation, and terms having been mutually agreed on, they embarked in their own ships next day for Canea, leaving the town without a single inhabitant, thus greatly diminishing the risk which the Greeks would have otherwise incurred, of contracting the plague.

Four Beys were, however, retained as hostages for the fulfilment of the terms, which provided, that all the Greeks retained in slavery in other parts of the island, should be given up: when the governor of Canea heard of the condition, he peremptorily refused to ratify it; adding, that the Greeks were at perfect liberty to do as they pleased with men who did not know how to defend the post which had been confided to their charge.

After the fall of Kisamos, Tombasi marched on to the district of Selinon, in the chief town of which the Turks had shut themselves up, after being repulsed on all sides by the armed peasantry. Besides its high walls and bastions, this place is surrounded by thick groves of olive and plane trees, which render the approach extremely difficult. The Captain General having proposed terms similar to those granted at Kisamos, they were rejected, upon which batteries were immediately opened on the place: these had not played long, when the Turks fled towards Canea, and were pursued to the very walls by the detachment of Greeks, who slew numbers. Master of these two points, Tombasi was enabled to open a communication with the various other districts which had been conducting the war before his arrival, and although it was out of his power to furnish them with those supplies, of which they stood so much in need; yet the presence of such a force as he brought with him, as well as the recent check experienced by the enemy, gave a fresh impulse to the

* This was the title given by the ancient Spartans to the governors who were entrusted with full powers.

exertions of those brave islanders, who had by their own gallantry sustained a most unequal contest with the Turks for above two years ; and succeeded, without any assistance whatever, in driving them into the fortresses. It is true, the Candiotes did not achieve their victories without great sacrifices, as it is calculated that above twenty thousand of both sexes have perished in this beautiful and prolific Island, since the insurrection broke out.

While the Captain General was organizing a plan of still more active operations on shore, his small squadron, under the gallant Hydriot Captain, Macromure, greatly distinguished itself before Retimo and Canea, in preventing the entry of several Turkish vessels that attempted to throw supplies into those two places.

With respect to the Capitan Pacha, his naval efforts were confined to the declaration of blockade already noticed, while a few Greek gun-boats, stationed at the first named place, were more than sufficient to set the whole of his vigilance and power at defiance. There was, in fact, scarcely a single instance of any vessels, carrying supplies to the Greeks, being intercepted ; whereas several under the Austrian flag fell into the hands of the Christians. Having remained in a state of the greatest inactivity for above three months, during which time nearly a third of his crews were carried off by an epidemic fever, the Turkish admiral sailed at length, and made the best of his way towards the Archipelago. A Greek squadron, which left Hydra early in September, met the infidel fleet off Mytilene, and sent some fire-ships in among them, but without effect, the wind being so high, that the Turkish vessels had time to escape. So far, however, from having sustained a defeat, as stated by the enemies of the Greek cause, a division of Turkish ships was attacked soon after in the gulph of Volos, and several of them were taken or destroyed. As to the Capitan Pacha, he did not, as usual, attempt to visit any of the islands, but hastened back to the Dardanelles with all possible speed.

The campaign of 1823 was signalized by two events no less advantageous to the Greek cause, than they were honourable to the Greek character—the re-occupation of Corinth, and defence of Anatolico. Though frequently reduced to great distress for provisions, yet, such was the importance attached to the possession of Corinth by the Turks, that they obstinately rejected every overture to surrender, until the

latter end of October, when there being no longer any hope of receiving the assistance promised by the Capitan Pacha, who had thrown a trifling supply into the place on the arrival of the fleet, proposals were made to Staico of Argos, who had maintained the blockade ever since he had left the assault of the Palamida, at Napoli di Romania. This brave man immediately repaired to the seat of government, then at Napoli, to communicate the circumstance, and to know its pleasure: the result was, that he received full powers to treat with the garrison, and he returned for this purpose; but Colocotroni, and one or two other chiefs, happening to hear of the intended negotiation, repaired to the spot, with a view, it is said, of participating in the spoils. No sooner, however, did the Turks hear of this, than a flag of truce was instantly sent to inform Staico, that they would only open the gates to himself and Giorgaki Kizzo: as it was in vain to think of reducing the Acropolis by force, there was now no alternative but that of acceding to their wishes; a messenger was therefore dispatched for the Souliote Chief,* who

* Giorgaki is brother to Vasilica, the favourite wife of Ali Pacha, and who was sent to Constantinople after the tyrant's fall. Though distinguished for his modesty in private life, and undaunted bravery in the field, as well as the purest patriotism, the circumstance of his sister's marriage had placed Giorgaki near the person of Ali, who always treated him with the greatest kindness, and made him the depository of all his secrets. It was not, however, until the death of Ali, that Giorgaki took an active part in the war of regeneration; when this event occurred, he repaired to the Morea, with a chosen party of followers, and has not been less actively than usefully employed ever since. Having accompanied Theriacouli in the hope of being able to enter Kiapha, he greatly distinguished himself in the action at Splanza, and was one of those who bore off the body of the Spartan chief.

I had frequent opportunities of seeing Giorgaki while at Tripolizza, and was much struck by his modest demeanour and singularly fine countenance—full of placidity and virtue. He suffered the greatest uneasiness on his sister's account, and I was more than once consulted as to the best means of extricating that beautiful woman from the hands of the infidels. As it occurred to me that a joint application from the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, and our ambassador at Constantinople, would have the desired effect, I recommended his addressing himself to those two quarters. All I could do, as a mere traveller, was to mention the circumstance to Captain Hamilton, of the Cambrian, and I did so, on meeting that gallant officer at Napoli di Romania. As the family of Vasilica is one of the most powerful in Epirus, both on the side of her late husband and the Souliotes, I trust this matter has already attracted the attention of those in whose power it is to obtain her liberation. It should be added, that there are about fifteen other in-

arrived soon after; and entered the Acropolis of Corinth, on condition that the Turks might be permitted to depart. This being accorded, they were embarked on board some Austrian vessels, and conveyed to Asia Minor. Disappointed in their hopes, and stung with mortification at the mean opinion of their character, implied by the resolution of the infidels, Colocotroni and his friends were obliged to retrace their steps to Tripolizza, which they entered amidst the scoffs of the multitude and ridicule of their own soldiers.

Anatolico is a small town built on a neck of land, about three leagues from Missolonghi, at the eastern extremity of the gulph which bears its name; and having nothing for its defence but an old dilapidated wall and ditch filled up in several places. Of about fifteen hundred inhabitants residing here, not more than three hundred were armed, when the town was closely invested by the Pacha of Scutari early in October, having previously received large reinforcements and been joined from Lepanou by Omer Vrioni. As the ulterior object of the enemy was to besiege Missolonghi, Constantine Bozzaris, unable to cope with such a force as that now brought forward, quitted his post at the bridge of Kerasova and retired to the former place to prepare for the Pacha's reception, whenever he should advance. The discomfiture before Anatolico was, however, scarcely less complete than that experienced at Missolonghi the preceding year.

Having established several batteries composed of mortars and eighteen pounders, the Turks continued to fire shells and shot into the place for above three weeks, during which they frequently summoned the inhabitants to surrender, but were invariably answered by a brisk cannonade, from the few guns which had been mounted in great haste, when the enemy appeared, and discharges of musketry. Warned by the result of the attempt to assault Missolonghi, the experiment was not repeated, and having expended the whole of their shot and shells, as well as exhausted their stock of provisions, the Turks retreated in their usual disorder on the 19th of November, leaving behind a number of guns, and a considerable quantity of baggage. The loss of the infidels,

dividuals retained by the Porte, whose enlargement would add greatly to our popularity in Albania, without doing the smallest injury to the Turkish interests there. To return to Giorgaki, I should add, that he is the warm friend and admirer of Prince Mavrocordato, and was one of the three strataarchs who immortalized themselves with Marco Bozzaris at Carpenisa.

in the various sorties made from the town, was above four hundred, while the Greeks had only about fifty killed and wounded, although the number of shot and shells thrown into the town was estimated at no less than 2,600 : as the Turks were also frequently harassed in the rear, by parties from the mountains, or who sallied forth from Missolonghi, the number of their killed is probably underrated. It should be added, that an epidemic fever carried off above twelve hundred of the Pacha's army between the period of his defeat at Carpenisa and that of his retreat. The reason for attacking Anatolico was, that its possession would have enabled the Turks to assail Missolonghi by sea. Three gun boats had even been prepared by the Pacha, but when completed, he could not prevail on any person to embark in them, and they were accordingly burnt by his own orders. Nothing could exceed the cool and determined bravery of the defenders of Anatolico, of whom a hundred and fifty swore a solemn oath to each other before the attack commenced, that they would bury themselves under its ruins, rather than surrender.*

* During this siege a singular and fortunate circumstance happened, which is mentioned by several writers, and is thus related by Mr. Blaquiere. " Nothing, says he, but a thorough conviction, that the fact I am about to relate actually occurred, and my having ascertained its exact truth from eye witnesses, would have induced me to notice such an incident at a time when there are so many attempts to impose on public credulity.

" Being aware that there was neither water nor cisterns in the town, one of the first measures of the Turks was to possess themselves of the fountain on Terra Firma, at a distance of nearly two miles, where the inhabitants had always drawn their supplies ; so that the blockade had not continued many days, before those who remained were in the greatest distress, and would have been forced to surrender, had not a small supply been occasionally sent from Missolonghi during the night. But every further hope was destroyed by the enemy placing a strong post and battery close to the narrow channel through which the boats had to pass, so that the garrison looked forward to their immediate destruction as inevitable, for the town was hemmed in on every side, and had been without any communication with Missolonghi for several days, when a shell from a ten inch mortar, entering the front of St. Michael's church, and penetrating the flagged pavement, lighted on a source of excellent water ! What adds to the singularity of the circumstance is, that a few women and children who continued in the town (for the greater part had been sent hither) took up their abode in the church, as the most secure asylum, and were in it when the shell entered, without receiving the least injury. With respect to the water thus miraculously discovered, it was not only most abundant, but fully equal in

Such was the end of the third campaign ; and such the fate of the formidable armies collected by the Pacha's of Scutari and Thessaly. Each of the four divisions which entered Livadia and Epirus was defeated and dispersed in little more than four months after it took the field, by a few detached corps : and unaided Greece was once more saved from the horrors to which she would have been exposed had the enemy triumphed. For it is well known, that the Turkish leaders had orders to carry fire and sword before them, so that the Greeks were fully aware that in this, as every former campaign, they had no alternative between victory and extermination.*

1823. The success of the Greeks during the campaign of 1822, and 1823, was such as not only to give the friends of that afflicted country considerable confidence in the new government, but also some reason to hope that this struggle for liberty would soon end in triumph and independence. But towards the close of this year difficulties sprung up from a source hardly to be expected. This was no less than a disagreement among the heads of the Government, which ended in the deposition of some of its members, producing want of concert, confusion, and anarchy.

We have already hinted at the disaffection of Colocotroni. At the Congress of Astros, Mavromicalis was made President of the Executive Council, instead of Mavrocordato, and Colocotroni, Vice-President of the same body in place of Canacaris.

This body now having at once the civil and military powers in their hands, they soon reduced the Senate to total imbecility. The Senate indeed, attempted to preserve its authority, and was engaged during the remainder of the year in checking the abuses of the military government. But such was the violence with which the two parties carried on their enmity towards each other, that the two former presidents, Conduriotti and Mavrocordato were obliged to flee to Hydra, while the Senate, supported by the Islands, came to open rupture with the Executive.

quality to that of the fountain of which the enemy had taken possession. It is needless to say that this fortunate coincidence was regarded as a miracle in every sense of the word ; that it saved Anatolico there is no doubt."—*Blaquiere's Second Visit*, p. 44.

* *Blaquiere*, p. 255—282.

The immediate occasion of this disagreement is stated to have been as follows. The seat of government had been removed from Astros to Tripolizza, and from the latter place to Napoli. The law had made it necessary that at least three members of the Executive Council should reside at the seat of government, that number being required to form a quorum for business. This Council, consisting of five members, two of which, Colocotroni and Mavromicalis being with the army, there remained Count Metaxa, and two others for the transaction of affairs. The Count, without leave or notice, withdrew himself from the seat of government, thus leaving the Executive in a state of political incompetency. For this act he was prosecuted, judged, and dismissed from his office,* John Coletti being nominated to fill his place. The minister of finance was also tried and dismissed for having, without authority, established a salt monopoly. Four representatives, in like manner, were turned out of their places for not attending to certain duties when called on to do so.

The Executive, irritated by these vigorous acts of justice, sent Nikitas and young Colocotroni to Argos, where the Congress was sitting, with two hundred men, to ask an *explanation* of such conduct. On their arrival, they proceeded to the house of Assembly, and found that the members had just terminated their sitting. The Senate, however, was in session, and thither they found admittance, soon filling the house with armed soldiers. Nikitas, in an attitude of defiance, questioned this body as to their conduct in removing Count Metaxa, and the minister of finance, from office.— They, in reply, accused the Count of neglect of duty, and the minister of establishing the salt monopoly without orders. Nikitas then threatened to make law with his sword, and declared he would establish a military government. After much angry debate, it was agreed that the house should meet in the afternoon to consider what course should be taken. Meanwhile the soldiers were ordered to seize on the archives of the legislature, which was accordingly done.— The members hearing of this outrage, ordered the Capitani, who were at the head of the police to recover these records, which order was put into execution with admirable courage

* Stanhope's Letters, p. 43.

and address.* The Capitani, it is said, contrived to intoxicate Nikitas' principal officers in the evening, and then wrested from them the archives of the houses.

After this affair the legislative body transferred their sittings to Crandidi, a place situated at the extremity of the Argolic Peninsula, near Spezzia. Here the Executive issued two proclamations; the first containing a defence of their conduct, but expressing no regret for what had happened, and the second called on the representatives of the nation to send deputies to confer with them and to settle their difficulties.

The legislative body finding however that the disorders went on increasing, came to the determination of effecting an entire change in the Executive.

Colocotroni, Col. Stanhope states, had already tendered his resignation; Metaxa, as we have seen, was dismissed, and the other three members were tried and judged singly and dismissed, according to the language of the Constitution.

Having thus dissolved the old Executive, the house proceeded to the nomination of the new, when the following persons were chosen and inducted into office. As president Conduriotti, of Hydra; and as members, Coletti, a physician, Botesi, a Spezziot admiral, and Nicolo Londos of Patras, a fifth not being chosen. The following are the charges of which the members of the late Executive were found guilty, by a commission of nine members of the legislative body. 1st. For having misapplied the funds of the land and sea forces. 2d. For having allowed two members to carry on the functions of the Executive. 3d. For promoting officers contrary to law. 4th. For having sold the cannon taken at Napoli, without consulting the representatives. 5th. For uniting the cantons of St. Pierre and Prastas, without consulting the legislative body. 6th. For selling Turkish slaves contrary to law. 7th. For having proclaimed the sale of the national property without the consent of the legislative body. 8th. For allowing the finance minister to establish a monopoly of salt. 9th. For sending M. Metaxa, a member of the Executive, to Carilis, and leaving the supreme body of the state with only two persons, and from that period having avoided all correspondence with the legislative body. 10th. For having allowed M. Metaxa to act

* Stanhope's Letters.

as a member of the Executive, after he had been sentenced to dismissal by the commission of the legislative body. 11th. For not having acknowledged M. Coletti as a member of the Executive, after he had been chosen by the legislative body. 12th. For having allowed an armed body to depart from Napoli, and to act against the legislative body at Argos.

These charges, and the dismissal of the members of the late Executive, were published in a proclamation issued by the presidents of the new Executive and legislative bodies.*

Of the characters and qualifications of the members of the new Executive, we can give only a few short notices, gleaned from various sources.

Of the President, Conduriotti, Count Pecchio says, he was neatly habited in the costume of his island (Hydra) sitting on a sofa *a la Turquie*, counting the beads of a *Compolojo*. As he speaks no foreign language, our conversations, whenever we met, were short and unimportant. The Conduriotti family is certainly the richest in Hydra. His property is said to amount to a million. At the commencement of the revolution, this family contributed very important sums of money for the support of the navy; and this sacrifice, with the reputation of being an excellent citizen, raised him to the first rank in the government. From that time, however, his fame has been on the decline. He was formerly esteemed a man of firmness, but experience has proved him obstinate rather than firm. His integrity is without blemish, but he is accused of partiality towards his own friends, and the Hydriots his countrymen.

Botasi, Botazi, or Boutasi, as he is called by different writers, the Vice President, is described by Mr. Emerson, to be an honest Spezziot, not overstocked with intelligence, but bearing a high character for honour and principle.

Andrea Metaxa is a Cephalonian, who gained a considerable reputation as a soldier in consequence of his brave defence of Antolico. At the beginning of the revolution he passed over into the Morea, joined the insurgents, and was ultimately outlawed by the Ionian government. Col. Stanhope says he is a sly politician, who raised himself and injured his country by his cunning. Cristides, the fifth member who was chosen after the others, was acting Secretary when Mr. Humphreys was at Napoli, who describes him as an active intriguing man.

* Stanhope's Letters. Letter 36.

"Of the members of the executive," Mr. Emerson says, "that John Colletti, a physician by profession, and as such, formerly in the pay of Ali Pacha, is by far the most clever and intelligent. Of his sterling patriotism, however, there are few in the Morea, or even among his own countrymen, who are not rather sceptical. The exactions which have been carried on in Roumelia by his agents, and with his approbation, have rendered him odious to the people whom he represents; and his intriguing spirit, forbidding countenance, and repulsive manners, have gained him, both with the Moreotes, and with foreigners, a character for cunning, avarice, and dangerous ambition. Nevertheless, his acknowledged talents have given him such an ascendancy with the president, and with the executive body, that he may be considered as the spring of its movements."*

The ex-president, Colocotroni, was visited by Mr. Waddington, who gives the following description of what he saw :

"I have presented myself three or four times at the levees of Colocotroni, and have received from him repeated assurances of his peculiar respect for the English nation, and his attachment to its individual members; and, in fact, he immediately provided me with an excellent lodging, which I could not otherwise have procured. These professions amuse me the more, as the old hypocrite is notoriously anti-Anglican, and is continually and publicly accusing the British government of designs to occupy and enslave the Morea. His manners, however, to do him justice, are utterly devoid of urbanity, and, like his countenance and dress, are precisely those which best become a distinguished captain of banditti. His court seems to consist of about fifteen capitani, who seat themselves on the sofa which lines three sides of his spacious hall; from the walls are suspended Turkish muskets, curiously inlaid, with many valuable pistols and sabres. His capitani are as filthy a crew as I ever beheld, and for the most part, ill-looking and very meanly attired; but the most miserably starving wretch that I have observed among them is a papas, or priest, bonneted and bearded, but still military. Their usual covering for the head is nothing more than the red cap of the country; but there are generally two or three of the party who think proper, from whatsoever feeling of vanity, to burden themselves with extremely large and shapeless turbans. Colocotroni takes little notice of any of them, and seldom rises at

their entrance. The fourth side of the room was occupied by a number of soldiers, who remain standing. Upon some occasion, Colocotroni thought proper to command them to retire; they obeyed reluctantly and slowly, and in a very few minutes returned in parties of two or three, and re-occupied their station. Count Pecchio adds his testimony of the savage appearance of the same personage, after his exile to Hydra. He says, 'when I beheld Colocotroni sitting amidst ten of his companions, prisoners of state, and treated with respect by his guards, I called to mind the picture that Tasso draws of Satan in the council of the devils. His neglected grey hairs fell upon his broad shoulders, and mingled with his rough beard, which, since his imprisonment, he has allowed to grow as a mark of grief and revenge. His form is rugged and vigorous, his eyes full of fire, and his martial and savage figure resembled one of the sharp grey rocks which are scattered throughout the Archipelago.' **

Petro Bey, (Mavromicalis) is a fat, dull, well-looking personage, who is addicted to no particular class of political opinions, and appears peculiarly unenlightened by any sort of foreign information; he is understood to have made great progress, (for an oriental,) in the science of gastronomy; and is believed to be willing to embrace any form of government which will leave him riches, and give him peace, abundance, and security.

Near the close of the year 1823, the Rt. Hon. Col. Stanhope, a young Englishman, of ability, arrived at Missolonghi, as agent for the Greek committee of London, and on the 5th of January, 1824, Lord Byron arrived at the same place.

His Lordship's arrival had been long and anxiously expected, and he was received with military honours, and the acclamations of the people. Mavrocordato had previously arrived from Hydra, being appointed by the legislative body to the government of western Greece. He proceeded to summon a congress at Missolonghi, consisting of primates and captains of the province, at which several wise and salutary regulations were adopted.

A surly misunderstanding still existed between the executive and legislative bodies. The latter is accused of not having fulfilled their engagements, particularly in regard to the fitting out of sixty ships, and the employment of 12,000 sailors.†

The Greeks and Turks continued to engage each other at

* Count Pecchio's Journal.

† Stanhope's Letter, 16,

sea as opportunity offered. On the 10th of December, a Turkish brig was pursued by a number of Greek vessels, and after a gallant defence, was driven on shore near Ithica, when the Greeks proceeded to rifle her. The Turks were pursued, and some of them killed, while others escaped. This vessel had on board 250,000 piastres for the payment of the Turkish troops at Patras, all of which fell into the hands of the Greeks.*

* According to Mr. Green, the wounded Turks found on board this vessel were put to death in the most wanton and brutal manner, and those who landed were pursued and killed without mercy. "Captain Knox, says he, the resident, assisted by the military, succeeded in saving numbers of the Turks, and on his approach the Greek assassins hastily re-embarked. The survivors have been treated with the greatest kindness by the local government."

It appears that the government of the Ionian Isles, or some of its members, considered their neutrality violated, since the above action took place on their waters, and in consequence the following proclamation was issued :

Corfu, 20th December, 1823.

"Whereas, on the 10th and 12th instant, one of the most flagrant violations of territory took place in the islands of Santa Maura and Ithica, on the part of some Greek armed vessels, which were under the command of a person styling himself Prince Mavrocordato, and that in opposition to every recognized principle of neutrality and the rights of nations ; his Excellency, the Lord High Commissioner of his Britannic Majesty, finds himself, with profound regret, compelled to order that the two above named islands be immediately placed, as regards the other Ionian Islands, in a quarantine of thirty days. The Inspector-General of the Health Department at Corfu, is charged to transmit immediately the necessary orders to this effect.

His Excellency feels the deepest affliction for the inconveniences and losses which must necessarily result from a similar measure ; and that which renders it so much more dreadful is, that an attempt to compromise and insult the Ionian Government, placed under the exclusive protection of his Britannic Majesty, was least to be expected from men who declare themselves fighting for their own liberty, and who would thus render this government, if the act had been passed over in silence, accessory to those terrible misfortunes and odious atrocities, which on this, and many other occasions, have marked the conduct of the parties engaged in the present warfare.

By order of his Excellency,

(Signed)

FREDERICK HANKEY. '

After the extracts we have before made from Mr. Consul Green's book, we shall leave to our readers to inquire, what would have been the language of that gentleman, had the Turks, under the same circumstances, taken a Greek vessel, and, as he terms it, assassinated the crew. The Turks gave the signal for a war of extermination, not by putting to death soldiers taken in arms against them, but by the deliberate murder of the dignitaries of the Greek church at Constantinople. It is not in the nature of the most civilized men to bear such injuries without retaliation.

Lord Byron, it appears, during his passage from Cephalonia, very narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Turks. The vessel which carried his Lordship was found early in the morning of the 30th December, to be surrounded by a Turkish squadron, which had unexpectedly come out of the Gulph of Lepanto. His vessel was hailed, and ordered to send her boat on board the Turkish commander, but by superior sailing she finally escaped.

At the meeting of the Congress before mentioned, Mavrocordato, the President, opened the session by a spirited speech. "He said he had heard with delight, on his arrival here, that the patriot warriors of Western Greece had driven the enemy from their soil, and had thereby saved Missolonghi and Peloponnesus from pest, death, and ruin. With no less delight did he see these persons assembled to deliberate on the state of Greece. He could not but anticipate their undertakings, in civil as in military affairs, would be attended with advantage. With respect to union of sentiments, it was not to be met with in private, or in public assemblies: but when the end was good, the collision of sentiment tended to enlighten men, and to promote the common interest. Passion and civil discord were alone the sources of mischief. For a proof of this it was not necessary to cite history—the facts were before their eyes; and from their past sufferings they should learn to be wiser for the future. Greece, indeed, had nothing to fear from the enemy. She had confounded the Turk even when *disunited*. But united, she had pushed her advantages still further—had saved her soil from desolation, and her resources from ruin. The prince thought not with those who traced discord and disunion to poverty. On the contrary, he considered that Greece did possess resources equal to the drain occasioned by the war, if well husbanded. But if she did not possess sufficient wealth, was it by disunion that wealth was to be obtained? Surely not. For who would lend when he knows not to whom he lends, and whom to look to for his capital? He then observed, that the illustrious person [Lord Byron] whom the people had brought to Missolonghi, by their repeated calls, could be of no use to them, unless they acted with union and friendship. All good depended on themselves. With union they required no individual aid; without it no aid could be effectual. There was, said he, a report abroad, which he must repel as a calumny. It had been rumoured, that Western Greece wished to separate her interests from those

of the Morea. It was not so : but if the latter possessed resources beyond her wants, it was but just that she should contribute to a war carried on for the defence of our out-works. If, as has been asserted, the revenue of the Morea had been squandered and pillaged, the people had a right to demand redress from the government, or rather, they should give the government the force necessary to effect the object." Prince Mavrocordato then recommended the meeting to appoint a Secretary, and two or three members from each canton to form committees, to make reports for the acceptance, correction, or rejection of the general assembly. With respect to his own sentiments, they should be publicly canvassed. He then again recommended friendship and union, which could alone save the commonwealth, and concluded by moving the following questions : "1st. What are the means to check mal-administration in the cantons—to prevent the fields from being wasted, and to secure to the husbandman the fruits of his labour? 2d. What force should be maintained, and how should the money and rations be furnished? 3d. How should our military measures be conducted so as to promote the general good? 4th. How regulate the dues of the Capitani, so as to prevent misunderstanding amongst them? 5th. What means should be employed to effect a general union, and give force to the government?" All present were quiet, and conducted themselves admirably.*

Great expectations were entertained that the influence of Lord Byron would not only effect a reconciliation between the contending parties which divided the forces and distracted the councils of Greece, but that his talents and his name would give vigour and success to the operations of the war. He professed himself of no party, recommended conciliation and union, and soon after his arrival took into his pay 500 Suliots. These he intended to discipline in the European tactics, and began by placing himself at their head, as military chief.

In addition to the Suliots, the government placed under his command 3000 troops, which were designed to act against Lepanto, which was then in the hands of the Turks. It was however afterwards reported to his Lordship that this expedition must fail for the present, in consequence of want

* Stanhope, Letter 21.

of funds, and the munitions of war.* Meanwhile the Suliots became turbulent in consequence of the inability of government to pay them their arrears, and Lord Byron, in consequence of provocation, and over-excitement from witnessing such conduct, was seized with an alarming fit.†— One of the Suliots, in an affray, shot an officer, Captain Sass, and killed him on the spot. Indeed the conduct of these semi-barbarians was such as to disappoint all expectations of their being of use to the army. Lord Byron, in order to surmount the difficulties concerning pay, advanced from his own funds the sums they required; but afterwards, when preparations were completed for marching against Lepanto, these men very coolly refused to advance towards that place, saying “they were not used to fight against stone walls.” Arta was then proposed, as a fit place for the exercise of their arms, but neither place was molested, and the preparations were relinquished. While these things were transacting, Col. Stanhope was carrying on his plan of regenerating Greece by means of newspapers and posts, with great zeal. His exertions, and subscriptions for the support of a corps of artillery, also deserve the highest encomiums. His proposal to establish schools in different parts of Greece for the education of youth; his plan of a hospital, and dispensary for the sick and wounded; and his exertions and advice in favor of a reconciliation and union among the chiefs, were all objects worthy a generous man and a vigorous mind.

* In order to show what amount of military stores were available at that time at Missolonghi, we extract the following report of the committee of war, convened by Lord Byron for the purpose of ascertaining whether there was a sufficiency to warrant the besieging of Lepanto.

This Committee reported as follows:—

There are 45 cannons, viz: one of 48, one of 36, two of 22, four of 18, of which three are howitzers, one of 16, four of 12, five of 9, two of 7, fifteen of 6, and nine of 4; also one mortar of 40 lb. calibre.

There are 200 balls of 48 lbs., one hundred of 36, one hundred and fifty of 22, three hundred of 18, fifty of 16, and eighty of 12. Of canister shot there are about 3300 lbs.; one hundred howitzer balls of 18, and about twenty shells of 40 lbs.

Powder, about 6600 lbs., musket balls, 22 cases and 3000 cartridges. Lead, 4500 lbs.

Working Tools, about 30, viz: 10 hatchets and 10 wheel barrows.— Ladders none, nor any thing but green wood to make them of.

Gun Carriages, all require repair.

On this report, the committee were of opinion that the articles specified were not sufficient to warrant the siege of Lepanto.

† Stanhope, Letter 39.

Col. Stanhope, after many difficulties, and considerable delay, finally established two newspapers, viz. : the "Hellenic Chronicle," at Missolonghi, and the "Athens Free Press," at Athens. A laboratory for the manufacture of warlike articles was also established at Missolonghi, partly through his influence.*

From the beginning of the revolution, the poverty of the government was the greatest obstacle to its progress. To remedy this great evil, a proposition had been made to the London capitalists by the provisional government of Greece, and a loan had been negotiated, by subscription, to the amount of 800,000*l.* sterling, to be paid by instalments.—The first instalment, amounting to 40,000*l.* in sovereigns and dollars, arrived at Zante, under the charge of Edward Blaquiere, Esq. in the month of April, 1824. The loan was consigned to Mr. Samuel Barff, a highly respectable English merchant, of Zante, and M. Logotheti, a native of the island, and to be retained by them until they should receive an order for its delivery from the commissioners who were appointed for its application. These commissioners were Lord Byron, Lazzaro Conduriotti of Hydra, and Mr. Gordon of England. Col. Stanhope was authorized to act in the

* This establishment, of such invaluable consequence to Greece, where nothing of the kind before existed, was sent from the Greek Committee of London. On its arrival the following communication was made to the Greek government through Mavrocordato.

To Prince Mavrocordato.

MISSOLOGHI, 5th Feb. 1824.

PRINCE,—We have the honour to inform you that the Greek Committee of England has sent out to Greece a complete laboratory establishment, which is now fixed at Missolonghi. The committee, in this as in all its measures, are anxious to promote the knowledge and freedom of Greece. The laboratory establishment is capable of manufacturing all the materials of war, either in naval or military departments. The artisans can construct vessels of all descriptions; they can found cannons, mortars, and howitzers; also shot shells, and spherical case shot; they can make carriages of all kinds; likewise gun powder, Congreve rockets, and all sorts of inflammable fires; the fire-master undertakes to give instructions in the practice of artillery, in projecting shells and rockets, and in the whole art of manufacturing the materials for war. In a word, this laboratory may be considered not only as a useful source of supplying warlike stores, but as a model and a school.

Your Excellency's most devoted servants,

(Signed)

NOEL BYRON,

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

[Stanhope, Letter 35.]

place of Mr. Gordon, until the latter gentlemen should arrive in Greece. A few days before the arrival of Mr. Blaquiere with the loan, Lord Byron died.* This was a most disastrous event to the welfare of Greece, and the progress of the revolution; for besides destroying at once the expectations which his exertions in the cause of Greece had raised, his death invalidated the commission for the application of the loan, and thus prevented the delivery of the money. It appears that the Greek Committee of London, in the appointment of commissioners to appropriate the funds, had made no provision in case of the death or disability of one of the individuals, that another should take his place. On the death of Lord Byron, therefore, the commission was dissolved, and Messrs. Barff and Logotheti could not deliver the money without violating their instructions from the London capitalists. As if a fatality attended this whole transaction, a proclamation issued by the Provisional Government, in which Zante and Cerigo were inadvertently mentioned as the depots for the future instalments of the loan, had the effect of eliciting a counter proclamation from the Ionian government, by which it was declared, that the transfer of the money sent to Zante for the Greeks, would be considered as a breach of neutrality, and would expose the offenders to all the pains and penalties denounced by the edict promulgated by Sir Thomas Maitland in 1822. Thus was the loan, on which the fate of Greece seemed nearly to depend, locked up within sight of her mutinous soldiery, and insolvent government, at the very moment when its delivery would have done the most good, and its delay the most injury to the cause of Greece. At that very moment a formidable expedition was preparing at Alexandria against Greece. The Turkish fleet was actually at sea, and an army of 60,000 men were marching towards Solona, destined to cross over to the Morea to co-operate with the Egyptian troops. The contractors who had engaged to supply rations for the troops at Missolonghi, now refused to fulfil their engagements, not knowing when, or if ever they should be paid; while the Suliots became so ungovernable as to keep the town in a state of anxiety and alarm, and rendered Mavrocordato's condition not only extremely embarrassing, but even attended with personal hazard.†

* The particulars of his Lordship's sickness and death will be found in the Appendix.

† The Suliots, it will be remembered, were the most heroic and

Colocotroni and the military party had always been averse to the loan, pretending to consider it as an equivalent for the sale of the Morea. They had sent an emissary named Peruca, to England, for the express purpose of dissuading the British capitalists from lending their money to the Greeks. This man proceeded as far as Corfu for the purpose of obtaining a passage to England, but owing to some circumstances connected with his character, the authority of that island would not suffer him to land, and thus the mission entirely failed. On the arrival of the money at Zante, another attempt was made by the anti-patriots to prevent its delivery, on the ground that the military party might yet prevail, in which case the present government would be replaced by a new order of things, in which event the new government could not be holden to repay. At the same time a report was spread that the money was to be sent back to England. The fact was, that the anti-patriots saw that they were ruined if they could not prevent, in some way or other, the money from going into the hands of the Government, since such an accession to their power, would at once give them an entire ascendancy.

unconquerable of all the mountain clans, and yet by treachery, and numbers, their cities were taken, and their country destroyed; the few that escaped being obliged to seek refuge wherever it was to be found. They were indeed a nation without a country. They had suffered the greatest hardships and privations, and their women and children, at the time of which we are speaking, were without homes, and probably without food. They had strong claims on the government, and their disappointment in not receiving their pay after having waited for many months, had made them restive and ferocious. Col. Stanhope impressed the necessity of allotting them a district of country on the government, long before, and Bozzaris, one of their leaders, told Mr. Blaquiere, that all they required was an asylum for their families, and the means of existence. At length, when Mr. Blaquiere advanced 10,000 dollars on his own responsibility, towards their payment, this trifling sum not only enabled Mavrocordato to put the Suliots in motion, but to strengthen several important points on the northern frontier.

* The greatest apprehensions were entertained in consequence of the delay of the loan. Col. Stanhope writes to Mr. Bowring, (Letter 63) "The legislative and executive bodies, indeed all the people, think that the loan will save Greece, if it arrives in time. Every preparatory measure has been taken towards the proper disposal of the money. The only danger is, that it should fall into the hands of a few individuals, and be appropriated to their particular interests." Mr. Blaquiere writes, "I am in a state of infinite perplexity. Such is the state of that place, (Missolonghi) and the position of poor Mat-

At length instructions were received from England to place the money, without conditions, at the disposal of the Greek government. But it was now too late to remedy many of the disastrous effects of delay, and the want of precaution in delivering the money became a fresh source of calamity. The first supply arrived at Napoli in July, and 90,000 dollars were paid over to the fleet, the remainder being distributed to the army. Each one obtained as much as he could, some got little or nothing, and few were satisfied. Among others, Ulysses, not finding his demand complied with, made a seizure of what government money he could find, disbanded his troops, and retired to mount Parnassus.



CHAP. XX.

Campaign of 1824.—Loss of Ipsara, and barbarities committed there.—Italian and Maltese Sailors assist the Turks.—Greeks stimulated to action in consequence of the loss of Ipsara.—Triumph of the Turks of short duration.—Attempt of the Turks on Samos.—Loss of a Turkish frigate.—Turks confounded by the boldness and skill of the Greeks.—Capitan Pacha retreats.—Western Greece.—Military operations there.—The Campaign on the whole successful to the Greeks.—Dissentions in the Morea.—The Porte prepares for the next campaign.—Operations at Candia.—Favourable aspect of Greece.—End of the Civil Discords.

1824 THE campaign of 1824 was opened on the part of the Turks by the destruction of Ipsara. The account of this awful tragedy we extract from Mr. Blaquiere, our principal guide in the History of the Revolution.

On the arrival of Mr. Blaquiere at Napoli di Romania on the 8th of July, he found the whole of the Legislative Assembly convened there, for the purpose of conferring with the Executive relative to the frightful catastrophe of Ipsara, from which ill-fated Island, two deputies had that morning arrived, who confirmed the news before received, of its destruction, and demanded immediate succour.

racordato, that he writes, to say his life will be endangered if money be not instantly sent over to pay the troops, especially the Suliots, who have become quite ungovernable."

It is almost needless to say that the above disastrous news spread general consternation, approaching to panic, among the members of the government and legislative body ; its effect was not less acute when circulated among the people. If ever the patriots entertained a doubt of the final success of their cause, it was probably at this moment. As if, however, that Providence, which had enabled Greece to triumph over so many difficulties, was still watching over her, the intelligence from Ipsara was accompanied by the announcement of two other events, which could not fail to afford infinite consolation to all parties. These were the sailing of the fleet from Hydra, and arrival at Zante of a person sent out from England, with instructions to Barff and Logotheti, to deliver up the money deposited in their hands.

The great obstacle to the departure of the Greek fleet has always arisen from the inability of government to make the usual advances of pay to the seamen for the support of their families while absent. The capitalists of Hydra, and its sister island Spezzia, had made such frequent sacrifices in this way, that they were no longer able to continue them, and it is probable that the arrival of the money at Zante may have rendered them somewhat less inclined to do so. Thus it was, that although fifty ships were ready for sea soon after my arrival in the Ionian Islands, the necessary funds could not be procured to meet the demands of their crews.—No sooner, however, had the catastrophe of Ipsara been made known, than the whole population of Hydra assembled at the port, and proceeding in a body to the convent where the local government meets, vehemently insisted on the primates, and other rich men of the island, coming forward, and that, by way of example, they had already made a beginning among themselves. This appeal was irresistible, the funds were instantly forthcoming ; and from this moment up to the period of my quitting Napoli di Romania, the Greek seamen appear to have been animated by a degree of energy and spirit altogether unknown during any previous year of the war.

Having stated the object of our visit to the government, and received its thanks for the interest we took in the Greek cause, Lord Charles* and myself returned to the apartments which had been kindly prepared for us by M. Coletti.

* Lord Charles Murray, a young English nobleman accompanied Mr. Blaquiére on this occasion.

The first object of our solicitude was to ascertain all the particulars we could of the attack of Ipsara. As these I am about to relate, were communicated by deputies, who had witnessed the event, they are probably the most authentic yet recorded relative to that direful tragedy.

It having been fully proved by the experience of the preceding campaigns, that nothing but the destruction of the naval power of Greece could ever enable the Porte to regain any part of its former ascendancy, the whole of its attention was directed to this point, so that, as stated in the letters I received from Prince Mavrocordato while at Zante, an attack on the naval islands was to form the primary object of the campaign.* For this purpose, a large naval and military force had begun to collect at Mytilene early in April. Owing, however, to the slowness of their operations, the Turkish armament did not complete its preparations before the latter end of May. The activity and boldness displayed by the Ipsariots during the contest, no less than their vicinity to the Dardanelles, made them singularly obnoxious to the Porte; nor would it have been prudent to leave such a formidable source of annoyance in the rear during the projected naval campaign. It was therefore determined that this island should be the first point of attack. Of all the naval islands, the military organization of Ipsara made it least vulnerable to the enemy. Besides the whole male population capable of bearing arms, amounting to nearly two thousand five hundred men, there was a corps of Albanian Greeks, and about fifteen hundred of the fugitives from Scio, formed into companies. Batteries had been constructed on every point of the island at which a landing was thought possible, and as very early information reached the local authorities, of the intended attack, every means within their reach were adopted to repel the assail-

* Previous to the grand attack on Ipsara, a smaller armament had been sent against those islands which, without being formidable, had been distinguished for their hostility to the Ottomans. At Scopolo, near the Gulph of Volos, the enemy was repulsed with great loss, and after several attempts to land. The infidels were, however, more fortunate at Cassos, a small island near the east end of Candia, which, like Ipsara, had acquired considerable wealth by the enterprising industry of its inhabitants. Here the Turks succeeded in effecting a landing; and though subsequently forced to retreat, they were enabled to carry off a large quantity of booty, and destroy several of the vessels which lay in the harbour.

~~ants.~~ The whole of the ships being recalled, their rudders were taken away, and a few Sciots placed on board to take care of them, in order that the seamen might be able to devote their exclusive energies to the defence of their native island. Besides the batteries, which were provided with ammunition and well manned, Cotta, a chief of Olympus, was posted at the most accessible point, though one at which it was not expected that any attempt would be made to land.

Aware that nothing but an overwhelming force could make any impression on the island, the Capitan Pacha's preparations were of the most formidable description. The Turkish fleet was descried from the heights on the 1st of June, in the forenoon : on approaching somewhat nearer, it was found to consist of two ships of the line, eight frigates, four corvettes, forty brigs, and nearly 200 smaller vessels fitted up as gun boats, and with mortars, a species of force which the enemy are said to have adopted at the suggestion of some of their friends comprising the foreign legations at Constantinople.

The whole of the ships and vessels were filled with troops, and it had indeed been communicated by a Greek resident at Mytilene, that not less than 24,000 picked men were embarked in the expedition.

The firing from the enemy commenced on the northern side of the island, at four in the afternoon, and was returned with considerable effect from the batteries ; it ceased on the part of the Turks about eight o'clock, after which they seemed to be retiring ; this did not, however, prevent the islanders from taking every precaution, and increasing the means of defence ; the posts were visited, and all the leaders enjoined to be vigilant. It was while the inhabitants placed for the defence of the town, fancied the enemy had in reality withdrawn, that numbers of the troops stationed in the remote points, came rushing in, early the following morning, and stated, that owing to the treachery of Cotta, the Turks had effected a landing in the night, and having divided into three columns, one of these was at that moment approaching the town. It appeared, on further inquiry, that the enemy contrived to disembark with such silence, that a large body of troops posted on a height not far from the spot, knew nothing of the circumstance until day-light, when, to their utter astonishment, they beheld the Turks drawn up in great numbers on the neighbouring hills.

While one of the divisions marched towards the town, the other two advanced to attack the batteries, and from taking them in the rear, they found very little difficulty in carrying them, and putting the Greeks to the sword. Those destined to attack the town did not reach it before noon; on entering, they began to cut down all who came in their way, so that neither men, women, or children were spared at the first onset. There has been no exaggeration in the statement, that numbers of the Ipsariot mothers, rather than fall into the hands of the barbarians, rushed to the nearest rocks, and dashing their infants into the surge below, plunged after them, and thus ended their own sufferings, as well as those of their offspring.*

After a contest of some hours, in which the Ipsariots, seeing their wives and children perishing without any hope of saving them, they at length determined to try and gain their ships. Accordingly, a part of the inhabitants rushed towards the port, while the rest, together with a body of 500 Albanians, shut themselves up in fort St. Nicholas, which formed the principal defence of the town. What was the surprise and horror of the former, on perceiving that those who were left in charge of the ships, panic-struck by what they saw passing on shore, had cut the cables and suffered the vessels to drift before the wind out to sea, without sails or rudders. It may be readily imagined how much this added to the confusion. There was not, however, a moment to be lost, and as it was out of the question to attempt saving all the fugitives, those who succeeded in reaching the port, rushed into the first boats they could find, while hundreds of the women and children were seen stretching out their hands, vainly calling upon their husbands and fathers for succour. Many plunged into the waves and were drowned in attempting to reach the boats as they left the harbour. As a portion of the enemy's fleet were outside, it intercepted and took several of the vessels which had no means of getting away. There were, however, several instances in which the Greeks determined rather to perish even after they had effected their escape from the Island, than surrender to the Turks. The captain of a brig which came to

* Among the many proofs of heroism displayed by the women, my informants related that one, who had been married only a few months, seeing her husband engaged with two or three Turkish soldiers, rushed in between them, and fell with the object of her affections, covered with wounds.

Napoli-di Romania a few days after our arrival, had laid a train for blowing her up, and when approached by the **Capitan Pacha's** ship and two frigates, he actually set fire to it. On seeing the fire ascend, and part of the vessel's rigging in a blaze, the Turkish ships retreated in all haste, thus enabling the Greeks to extinguish the fire and make their escape. Another vessel, having only five men on board, hailed two of the enemy's frigates, which came up with an evident intention to board, and vociferated, that if they came a yard nearer, they would set fire to the powder magazine: this menace had the desired effect, and they were allowed to proceed.

While this scene was passing at the fort, another still more harrowing was preparing in fort **St. Nicholas**. Those who took refuge there were pursued by a part of the Turks, while the remainder were occupied in cutting down the inhabitants who fled towards the ships, and in plundering the houses. On entering the fort, the Greeks had barricaded the gates, and commenced a fire on the infidels, which obliged them to retreat with the loss of half their number.

After having satiated themselves with the blood of more than two thousand victims, night came on, and suspended the carnage. The Turks, who had been sent to attack the coast batteries, and two of which were blown up by the Greeks rather than surrender, having concentrated themselves in the town, the **Capitan Pacha** sent a peremptory order on shore, that the whole of the troops should be employed in reducing fort **St. Nicholas**. Accordingly they advanced while it was yet dark, preparatory to a general assault. The attack commenced at day-break, and gave rise to prodigies of valour on the part of the Christians. Perceiving, however, that it was in vain to contend against such numbers, they formed the desperate and heroic resolution of burying themselves in the ruins of the fort. Pursuant to this determination, those who remained placed themselves close to the gate, having previously ranged the women and children in the rear; a soldier being placed at the powder magazine with a lighted match, the gates were thrown open, upon which about two thousand of the enemy rushed in; when the fort was so full that not a man more could enter, the signal was given, and in another instant every soul within its walls were buried in the ruins, or blown into the air by the explosion.

Such was the fate of Ipsara, which may be fairly attributed to the delay in the sailing of the fleet; for had it been possible to effect this in time, there is no doubt whatever but the enemy would have abandoned his project, or been foiled in the attempt. How prophetically Prince Mavrocordato anticipated some such disaster, will be seen from the extracts of his letters to myself while at Zante.

The loss sustained on this occasion was immense and irreparable. Upon a moderate computation, four thousand Christians, of every age and sex, perished. When to this is added the loss of all property, personal and public, and about a hundred vessels of different sizes, some notion may be formed of the catastrophe of Ipsara. During the first moments of dismay, the fugitives sought shelter in any of the neighbouring islands they could reach, but it was afterwards thought advisable to establish themselves at Napoli di Malvasia, on the coast of Maina, until the period arrived either for their returning to the place of their birth, or being settled in some other point of the confederation.

A fever with which I was attacked on the day after my arrival at the seat of government, having confined me to my bed for nearly a fortnight, I was prevented from following the progress of events so exactly as I could wish. When enabled to return to the consideration of passing events, I understood that the division of the fleet, which sailed from Hydra under the brave Miaulis, on the 4th of July, could not, owing to contrary winds, approach Ipsara before the 8th. Impelled by a spirit of vengeance, hitherto unknown to them, the Greek seamen eagerly rushed into the boats, and landed while the fleet hovered off the port to intercept all the enemy's vessels that should attempt to escape. The only object of the Turks being that of removing every possibility of Ipsara ever holding up its head again, they were busily employed in taking away the cannon and plundering property, of which a considerable portion, together with the women and children they had reserved for slavery, had been already sent to Scio and Mytilene. On hearing that the Greeks had landed, the Turks immediately rushed towards the port, and put to sea. They were pursued by the fleet, and numbers either run down or captured.* Those who could not

* It was known that there was a great number of Italian and Maltese seamen serving on board the Turkish fleet and flotilla; of these, not more than fourteen fell into the hands of the Greeks. I

get out of the harbour, were taken possession of, and conducted with the spoils that had been embarked, to Hydra and Spezzia. The most horrid spectacle that can be imagined presented itself to the Greeks who landed; they found the town still smoking, and the streets full of dead bodies, of both sexes and all ages. The putrefaction which had already commenced, rendered it impossible for either party to remain, so that they were forced to retire, leaving the island completely deserted, except by a single detachment of the enemy, who had shut themselves up in one of the few houses that remained standing, and whom the Greeks could not attack, in consequence of their having a number of women and children in their possession.

As a compensation for the disasters which attended the commencement of the naval campaign, many of the patriots assured me, that however calamitous they might be regarded, more particularly that of Ipsara, something of the kind had become necessary to rouse the people from an apathy into which their previous successes had thrown them. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that although the consternation caused by the news from Ipsara, became very general, and continued for a considerable time, the event had really the effect of stimulating all the energies of the nation, and inspiring a spirit of vengeance, which is not only excusable but salutary, when a people are struggling for existence.*

The triumph of the Turks, however, was of short duration. No sooner had tidings of this catastrophe reached Hydra, than the Greek fleet, commanded by Miaulis, which had been lying there in inaction, for want of funds for the payment of the sailors, animated with a desire of vengeance, immediately set sail for Ipsara. The Turkish admiral had withdrawn his armament before they could reach the island, leaving nothing but about twenty galleys in the harbour, and a garrison of 1,500 men. Of these, only between 2 and 300 escaped. Seven of the galleys succeeded in eluding pursuit; the remainder were taken or destroyed. The Greeks then brought away the cannon left in the fortresses, together with some Ipsariot fugitives who had concealed themselves in the hills; and the island has ever since re-

need hardly say they did not escape the indignation of the Christians; indeed, many of the Greek sailors who were in the action, assured me they felt infinitely more enraged against the Franks than the Turks.

* Blaquier's Second Visit, p. 75—86.

mained desolate. All its citizens who have escaped slaughter or slavery, have been indebted for an asylum to the hospitality of their countrymen. The greater part established themselves at Napoli di Malvasia, on the coast of Maina.

The next attempt of the Capitan Pacha was upon Samos. For this purpose, a large body of Asiatic troops was collected at Scala Nova. The Samians, aware of the enemy's designs, sent their families to the mountains, and prepared to defend the passes, in case the Turks should effect a landing, while a division of the Greek fleet, under George Sakturi of Hydra, disputed the passage of the straits. On the 17th of August, in a fourth attempt of the Turkish fleet to run across, the brave Ipsariot, Canaris, attached his fire-vessel to a forty-gun frigate under sail; the fire very speedily reaching the magazine, the greater part of those on board were destroyed, as well as several transports to which the fire communicated. At the same time, other fireships burned a Tunisine brig of war and a large Tripolitan corvette. On the 21st of August, another fleet of transports, employed in conveying troops to the northern side of Samos, were intercepted and dispersed, a part being taken and destroyed. On the following day the Turkish fleet again attempted the passage from Cape Trogilium to the opposite shore; but such was now the dread inspired by the Greek fire-ships, that the approach of only two or three of them was sufficient to drive back the Ottoman men of war to the Asiatic coast. The troops assembled on the shore of Mycale, in readiness to embark, on witnessing this last disgrace of their navy, returned to their camp at Scala Nova; and it was not long before the greater part of the land forces which had been collected there, dispersed and withdrew into the interior.

“The Capitan-Pacha, feeling the necessity of giving up the attempt upon Samos for the present, proceeded to effect a junction with the Egyptian expedition at Cos and Halicarnassus. Sakturi in like manner united his force with that of the naval chief Miaulis, at Patmos, after which the Greeks proceeded to observe the Mussulman armament. On the 5th of September, a small division of Greek vessels with two fire-ships approached the Turkish fleet, when the latter got under weigh; the Greek fleet then joined their comrades, and an action taking place, the Turks lost some men, and two fire-ships of their opponents exploded without having done any damage to the enemy. The Greeks then retired to Panormus, (the port of the ancient Branchidæ, in the

district of Miletus,) now called Ie'ronda. It was the object of the Capitan Pacha to return with the united fleet to Samos. On the 8th and 9th of September, the Turkish vessels attempted in vain to effect a passage through the channel between Calymna and the coast of Caria, the wind not being favourable, and the Greeks advancing to meet them. On the 10th, they were still more unfortunate. Early in the morning, they had advanced with a favourable breeze against the enemy, who was becalmed near Calymna; and the nearest of the Greek vessels, exposed to the heavy fire of the Turkish ships, were in danger of being destroyed, or at least of being cut off from the rest of the fleet, when a breeze arising, the Greek ships were enabled to act more in concert. Such a desultory combat as the great inferiority of the Greek vessels will alone admit of, was kept up until the middle of the day, when two fire-ships were attached to a large Egyptian brig of war, and not long afterwards, two others to the frigate which commanded the Tunisine division. So confounded were the Turks with the boldness and the skill of their opponents, in thus attacking them with their small vessels, in the open sea and under sail, that not even the Greek ships accompanying the incendiary vessels suffered much from the Turkish fire. The Ottoman fleet returned in confusion to the anchorage near Budrum, (Halicarnassus,) and the burning ships, drifting ashore, were entirely consumed.—Many of the seamen were drowned or slain in endeavouring to escape from the flames, but the Tunisine commander was taken, and remained a prisoner with the Greeks.

“After this defeat, the principal object of the Capitan Pacha seems to have been, that of effecting a safe retreat to the Dardanelles. Some ships of war having been left for the protection of the transports which had been sent to the upper part of the Gulf of Cos, to land the Egyptian troops, the remainder, as soon as the calms (which usually prevail for some weeks after the cessation of the Etesian winds) had given place to the equinoctial gales, took advantage of a southerly breeze, and after meeting with some interruption and loss near Icaria, reached Mytilene.

“On the 7th of October, the Turkish admiral, having left Ibrahim Pacha in the command of the naval forces, re-entered the Dardanelles. About the middle of the same month, Ibrahim, after some unsuccessful encounters with the Greeks near Chios and Mytilene, returned to the Egyptian armament in the Gulf of Cos; and in the month of November his

ships sustained considerable damage from the enemy on the northern coast of Candia.”*

In Western Greece, military operations were almost suspended during the whole year. Mavrocordato, indeed, took post at the head of about 3000 men, on the heights of Lugovitzza, near the western bank of the Achelous, where they remained for three months; while Omer Pacha remained at Kervasara at the south-eastern extremity of the Ambracic Gulf; but neither party was able or disposed to bring his troops to act.†

In Eastern Greece, an attempt was made by the Seraskier, Dervish Pacha, to penetrate from Thessaly to the Corinthian Gulf, by the route which leads from Zeitouni to Salona. In the month of July, he succeeded in passing through the defiles; but at Ampliani, about eight miles from Salona, he was attacked and defeated by the Greeks under Panouria; and after suffering some further loss in his retreat, he resumed his positions in Doris and Thessaly, without having effected the smallest advantage.‡ In concert with this operation, an attempt to recover Athens was made by Omer Pacha of Egripo; but he was met at Marathon in the middle of July by the Greeks under Goura, from whom he received such a check as, combined with the ill success of the Seraskier's expedition, sufficed to confine him to Bœotia, and he ultimately withdrew behind the walls of Egripo.

In the Morea an attack was made, in the early part of the year, on Modon; but this with occasional skirmishes with the garrison of Patras, comprised the whole exertions on either side. Coron and Lepanto remained in the undisturbed possession of the Turks.

Upon the whole, the campaign of 1824 was one of the most inglorious and unprofitable to the Ottomans of any that had hitherto taken place, and at no period had the prospects of the Greeks assumed a brighter appearance, than towards the

* Leake's Outline, pp. 152—155.

† A detachment of cavalry surprised the town of Vrachova, and took or killed about 300 of the inhabitants. The town, however, had been before nearly destroyed, and with this exploit Omer Vrioni was satisfied.—*Humphreys*, p. 264.

‡ Captain Humphreys states, that the Turks on this occasion lost about 200 men; the Greeks four or five. “This was the most important engagement that took place by land during the whole campaign, and constituted the operations of the Turkish army of above 20,000 men, opposed to 4000.”—*Humphreys*, p. 368.

close of this year. The arrival of the loan and the submission of the military party had given new strength and apparent stability to the civil government; while, as to the most important of all its foreign relations, the Ionian Government, with whom there had arisen a serious misunderstanding, was now on terms of friendly neutrality, and the Lord High Commissioner had actually deigned to set his foot in Greece.*— But unhappily, the renewal of those dissensions in the Morea, which it was fondly hoped that the loan would heal, or enable the Government to terminate, not only prevented the prosecution of the winter campaign, but placed the cause in the greatest jeopardy.

During the winter, these differences rose to an alarming height. Several instances of partiality shown by the Government to the Roumeliots, had tended to irritate the Moreote chieftains, who were moreover jealous of not sharing in the increasing power of the Government. At length, as little conciliation was employed, the dispute produced an insurrection on the part of the Moreotes, at the head of which was Colocotroni and his sons, Niketas, his nephew, Demetri-

*“ An order had been issued by the British Government, towards the close of 1822, directing its officers in the Mediterranean to respect the right of the Greeks to blockade such ports of Greece as remained in possession of the Turks. This was a most important point gained, being a first step toward the recognition of their Independence. It was, however, notorious, that among the transports hired at Alexandria and Constantinople, a great number were under the English and the Austrian flags. Irritated at these proceedings, and alarmed at the formidable preparations which were being made in both Turkey and Egypt, the executive council issued on the 8th of June, 1824, from Lerna, an edict authorizing their cruizers to attack, burn, and sink, all European vessels which they should find so employed. This infraction of international law, immediately called forth strong remonstrances from Sir Frederick Adam; but these not being attended to, on the 6th of September, he issued a proclamation, notifying, that till the Greek manifesto should be fully and authentically recalled, the British Admiral in the Mediterranean had been directed to seize and detain all armed vessels acknowledging the authority of the Provisional Government of Greece. On the 27th of August, the Government had already revoked their edict so far as regarded all neutral ships that had not Turkish troops on board; but this not being satisfactory, Sir Frederick Adam, two days after the issuing of his proclamation, embarked for Napoli, where he was received with the highest honours, and all differences were immediately adjusted by a new decree limiting the order to neutrals found in the enemy's fleet. On the 17th of November, a proclamation from the Ionian Government enjoined all vessels bearing the Septinsular flag, to respect the blockade of the Gulf of Corinth maintained by the Greeks.”—*Modern Traveller*.

us and Nicolas Deliyauni, General Sessini, Andrea Zaimi, Andrea Londos, and Giovanni and Panagiola Notapopuolo. The Government immediately called in the aid of the Roumeliots, two of whom, General Izonga and Goura, aided by the counsels of John Coletti, took the command of their forces. The Moreotes carried on the civil war with considerable spirit for some time, and proceeded so far as to attempt the capture of Napoli di Romania; but at length, after some delay and bloodshed, the insurgents were dispersed, and the rebellion was pretty well quelled by the end of December. The evil effects, however, of this civil contest were long felt, and one most disastrous consequence was, that it prevented the reduction of Patras, which might easily have been taken during the winter. Owing to the delay thus occasioned, it was the middle of January before a few vessels sailed up the Gulf of Corinth, and, aided by some land forces, recommenced the blockade; while an active pursuit was set on foot after the fugitive leaders in the late insurrection, who had taken refuge in the different holds of the Morea.

In the meantime, the Porte was very differently occupied. The Pacha of Egypt, prompted apparently by a Mussulman feeling, and by the hope at least of adding Candia and the Morea to his dominions, had entered cordially into the war, and his wealth enabled him to take upon himself the chief pecuniary burthen. Unhappily for the Greek cause, the assistance of the Egyptian troops had enabled the Turks in Candia to produce a temporary suppression of the insurrection in that important island; and the great facility of communication which was thus established between Egypt and the Morea, enabled Ibrahim Pacha, the step-son and lieutenant of Mahommed Ali, to begin the campaign of 1825 without waiting for the return of spring. His fleet having wintered at Suda in Candia, set sail on the 23d of December for Rhodes, where he took on board 5000 disciplined troops: with these he returned to Candia, to complete his armament, which detained him till the middle of February. At the same time, transports were being fitted out at Constantinople, for the purpose of relieving Modon and Patras. Omer Vrioni had been removed to Salonica, and the pashaliks of Ioannina and Delvino had been bestowed on the Roumeli Valisee, to which was to be added Karl-ili, in the event of his subduing it. He immediately began to form his camp at Larissa, intending, when his arrangements should be complete, to pass over to

his new pachalik, and with reinforcements levied in his progress, to descend on Missolonghi.

Affairs however wore a favourable aspect in Greece up to the commencement of February. The last remnant of the rebellion had been quelled. A few of the leaders had taken refuge in Kafamos, an island appropriated by the Ionian Government to the reception of Grecian fugitives. The remainder has surrendered to the Government, and it having been determined to remove them to Hydra, the same vessel which brought Conduriotti from that island to resume his functions at Napoli as President of the Executive, returned with the chiefs of the rebellion on board. On the 17th of December, Colocotroni and his companions embarked, and in a few days were landed at the place of their destination—the monastery of St. Nicholas, on the craggy summit of one of the wildest hills of Hydra.*



CHAP. XXI.

Beginning of the fifth Campaign.—Fair prospects for Greece.—Preparations of the Enemy.—Egyptian squadron anchors off Modon.—Ibrahim Pacha receives a reinforcement from Candia, and places his Camp before Navarino.—Assault on the Town.—Attack and defeat of the Greeks.—Taking of the Island of Sphacteria, and death of Santa Rosa.—Capitulation of Old Navarino.—Destruction of 25 of the Enemy's Vessels at Modon.—Moreotes demand the liberation of Colocotroni; his liberation.—He assembles 8,000 Troops at Tripolizza.—Destruction of the Turkish Ships at Cavo Doro.—Siege of Missolonghi by the Enemy.—Disasters in the Morea.—Tripolizza burned.—Pappa Flessa.—Success of the Greeks near Argos.—Distress and perplexity at Napoli di Romania.—General Rouché and De Rigny, their proposition to place the Duke of Orleans on the Throne of Greece.—Proposition of Russia to form Greece into Principalities.—Death and character of Ulysses.—Rage and disappointment of Ibrahim Pacha.—End of the Campaign of 1825.

1825. The situation of Greece at the end of 1824, and at the commencement of 1825, was such as to leave

* Modern Traveller, Part II. p. 208—215

grounds for the highest expectation from the result of the ensuing campaign. Mr. Emerson, who was on the spot, writes as follows on the prospect of that period :

“ The prospects of this moment were,” says he, “ perhaps, the most brilliant since the commencement of the revolution. The liberators were now in full possession of the Morea, with the exception of Patras, and the unimportant fortresses of Modon and Coron. Almost all Western Greece was in the hands of the Government. The country was just freed from a rebellion, which had exposed the principles of three of the chieftains who were disaffected, and enabled the Government to remove them from their councils and measures ; a fourth portion of the Loan was at that time arrived, and a fifth expected : whilst, about the same time, a second Loan had been effected in England, so that the funds of the Government were now replenished with ample means for a long campaign. Thirty ships composed the blockading squadron before Patras, aided by a large body of land troops. The garrison within was already reduced to straits for provision, as appeared by some letters which arrived at Zante from persons within the walls ; and a capitulation was expected in a very short time. Constant communications being maintained between Missolonghi and Larissa, and the activity of Roumeli Valisi’s movements being ascertained, it was determined to prepare in time to oppose him ; and for this purpose, Nota Bozzaris, together with Generals Suka and Milios, set forward with a sufficient body of troops to occupy the pass of Macrinoro, the ancient Olympus, through which it was necessary he should pass. Thus prepared at every point, the spirits of the soldiers were raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm ; and it seemed that Greece wanted but one step more to defeat her northern invaders, deliver the Peloponnesus, and complete the work of freedom.

“ It was, however, towards the end of the same month, that the first disastrous stroke occurred. Frequent letters from Crete had informed the Government of the return of Ibrahim Pacha from Rhodes, and of the vigour with which he was hastening the completion of his preparations. The progress of the blockade at Patras was now observed with double interest, as its fall was daily expected, and as there was no other probable means of checking the armament of the Egyptians, than by withdrawing the squadron which was cruising before the fortress. This, being a desperate resource, was of course deferred to the last moment : till at

length, advices arrived of the immediate departure of the expedition from Candia; further delay was impossible; and just at a moment when the garrison was ripe for surrender, the squadron sailed, unfortunately too late. Such was the deficiency of communication across the Morea, that almost on the same day that the fleet sailed from Patras (24th Feb.) the Egyptian squadron of four corvettes and numerous brigs and transports, in all thirty sail, anchored off Modon, and disembarked 6000 soldiers, infantry and cavalry, well disciplined, and commanded chiefly by European officers. The troops immediately encamped around Modon, whilst the ships returned without delay to Suda in Candia. A few days after, Ibrahim Pacha, at the head of 800 men, advanced to the summit of the range of hills which rise at the back of Navarino. The inhabitants were instantly struck with terror, and flew to arms, while 700 Roumeliots, under the command of General Giavella, poured immediately into the fortress. The Pacha's object, however, appeared to be merely to take a survey of the situation of the fortress; he remained quietly at his station for some hours, and then returned to his encampment. It was now clear that Navarino and the adjacent country was to be the immediate seat of war; the attempt on Patras was consequently totally abandoned, and the troops drawn off to be marched further south.

“Both parties, however, remained quiet till the 20th of March, when Ibrahim Pacha, having received a second reinforcement from Candia, (his ships having evaded the Greek squadron,) took up his position, and placed his camp, with 14,000 soldiers, before Navarino. The capture of this town was a considerable object to the Turks, not only from its position, but from the circumstance of its being the best, or one of the best protected ports in the Morea. The harbour, which is of considerable dimensions, is protected by the island of Sphacteria at its entrance, which is so narrow, that whoever has possession of the island can prevent all ingress or egress from the town by sea.

“The situation of Navarino perfectly agrees with Thucydides' description of Pylos; from some remains of antiquity in the neighbourhood, there can be little doubt of its identity; in fact, a village about half a mile distant, built immediately at the foot of the cliff, on which stands the fortress called Old Navarino, still bears the name of Pylos. New Navarino, or Neo-Castro, as the Greeks more usually call it, for-

merly contained 600 Turks and about 130 Greeks ; the former of whom were remarkable for their villany, the latter, like all the Messenians, for their sloth and effeminacy. It now contained nearly 200 inhabitants and a small garrison, having fallen into the hands of the Greeks during the early stages of the revolution. The fortifications, like all the others in the Morea, where the work of the Venetians, and though not peculiarly strong, were in a pretty fair state of repair. Every precaution was now taken by the Greeks. A garrison amounting to 2000 soldiers, principally under the command of Hadji Christo, and Joannes Mavromichali, son to Petro Bey of Maina, were thrown into the fortress ; a small corps of artillery, amounting to fifty or sixty men, were sent off with all haste from Napoli ; and the command of the fortifications was given to Major Collegno, who lost no time in assuming his post. Provisions were sent in from all parts of the Morea, sufficient for a long siege. Large bodies of Roumeliots, under command of their respective generals Giavella, Karatazzo, Constantine Bozzaris, brother to the hero Marco, and General Karaiskaki, took positions in the rear of the enemy. Conduriotti and Prince Mavrocordato prepared to set out from Napoli with fresh troops ; and though affairs were threatening, there existed the strongest hopes, from the spirit of the soldiery and the state of the fortress, that they would be able to make an effective stand against all assaults."

The army of Ibrahim Pacha consisted of about 10,000 infantry, 2000 Albanians, and an adequate proportion of cavalry and artillery. On the 28th of March, he made an assault on the town, but was opposed by the united force of the Roumeliot general, Karatazzo, and Joannes Mavromichali. The loss on both sides was nearly equal : that of the Greeks is stated at 150 men, including their brave young leader, Joannes, who received a wound in his arm, which, being unskillfully dressed, terminated in a mortification. The Greeks succeeded, however, in taking from the enemy upwards of a hundred English muskets and bayonets, which were immediately forwarded to Tripolizza. A system of petty skirmishing was kept up during the ensuing three weeks without any important result. In the mean time, Austrian, Ionian, and even English ships, laden with Turkish grain and provisions, were daily arriving at Napoli, as prizes taken by the Greek crui-

zers :* and on the 18th of April, three Austrian vessels, laden with provisions for the enemy, who was reported to be already in possession of Navarino, appeared at the entrance of the harbour. The Greek commandant, suspecting their intention, hoisted the red flag on the fortress : and the three vessels, entering in full confidence, were declared lawful prizes, and their cargoes were applied to the supply of the garrison.

At length, on the 19th of April, Ibrahim Pacha attacked, in their position, the whole force of the Greeks, amounting to about 6000 men, and completely defeated them. The particulars of this important action are thus given by Mr. Emerson, on the authority of letters from Navarino, transmitted to the Government at Napoli.

“ The positions in the rear of the enemy had been all occupied, with an intention of cutting off their communication with Modon, and were now extended almost in a circle. The left extremity was intrusted to Hadji Christo, Hadji Stephano, and Constantine Bozzaris ; the right was commanded by the Roumeliot generals, Giavella and Karatazzo ; whilst the centre was occupied by a body of Moreotes, under General Skurtza, a Hydriote, whom Conduriotti's interest had invested with a high command, together with a few other capitani. On the evening of the 18th instant, intimation of the intended attack in the morning had been received from a deserter, and notice in consequence sent to the different generals. The commanders of the positions on the extremities were fully prepared ; but in the centre, Skurtza had as yet neglected to make the necessary entrenchments and petty lines, behind which alone the Greeks are capable of making any stand. He accordingly applied for additional assistance, and early in the morning, Bozzaris set out to his position with a chosen body of his soldiers. About nine o'clock the attack of the Egyptians commenced on the position of Hadji Christo, who sustained the onset with extreme courage : at the same time, another party, with three cannon and one mortar, commenced the attack on the right, where they met with an equally brave

* Emerson, p. 105. These vessels had invariably regular papers from their respective consuls, and cleared for the Ionian Isles : but in general, the confessions of the captains, or some other circumstances, condemned them. Several, however, were reclaimed, and though no doubt could be entertained of their being Turkish property, yet as their papers were correct, the Greeks were compelled to surrender them.

resistance from Giavella and his followers; whilst a third, supported by a body of Mameluke horse, charged on the centre. The two extremities kept their position with astonishing bravery, though not less than three hundred shot and shells fell within the lines of Giavella. In the centre, however, the want of their accustomed tambours soon threw the soldiers of Skurtza into confusion; and after a short stand, they commenced a precipitate retreat, leaving the soldiers of Bozzaris to oppose the enemy alone. These were soon cut to pieces; and it was with extreme difficulty, that himself and twenty-seven followers escaped with life, after witnessing the fall of almost all the chosen soldiers of his brother Marco, who had died in his defence. Upwards of two hundred Greeks lost their lives in this engagement. Xidi and Zapheirupuolo, two of the bravest leaders, were made prisoners; and four other distinguished capitani perished in the fray.

“The day following, the enemy, elated with their success, attempted an assault on the walls: the efforts of the garrison, however, assisted by a band of Arcadians in the rear of the enemy, were successful in driving them off with the loss of 100 slain and 20 prisoners; whilst the Greeks took possession of their newly-erected battery, but, not being able to carry off the cannon, contented themselves with spiking them all, and retired again within the walls.”

The negligence or pusillanimity of the Moreotes under Skurtza, to which Bozzaris justly attributed the defeat of his troops, so materially widened the breach between the Roumeliots and the Moreotes, that shortly after, hearing that the Turks were advancing on Missolonghi, the former expressed their determination to leave the defence of Navarino to the peninsular troops, and return to defend their own homes. Accordingly on the 30th instant, they arrived at Lugos, to the number of 3000, under their respective generals, Giavella, Karaiskachi, and Bozzaris. The Moreotes, roused by this defection, now took arms with greater spirit; and the rebel chiefs Zaimi and Londo, driven from Calamos by the English resident, returned to the Morea, having submitted to the Government, and began to raise troops in their native districts of Kalavrita.

In the meantime, the Roumeli Valisee had, on the 10th of March, reached Ioannina from Larissa. On the 20th he arrived with 15,000 men at Arta; and early in April, he succeeded in accomplishing his entrance by the pass of Macri-

horo into the plains of Western Greece. The Roumeliots, under Nota Bozzaris and Izonga, had deserted their post, and crossed the Achelous, without once coming in contact with the enemy, leaving the whole country north of that river open to his ravages, while the inhabitants of the villages took refuge under British protection in Calamos. At the orders or entreaties of the Missolonghi Government, Generals Izonga and Makris were induced, however, to recross the Achelous, and attempt to seize the passes of Ligovitz; but the enemy was beforehand with them, and after a short conflict, they were obliged to retreat with all expedition, and prepare for the defence of Anatolico, and Missolonghi.

To return to the siege of Navarino. The object of Ibrahim Pacha was now to take Sphacteria; but it was not till the arrival of his ships from Suda with a third division of land forces, that he deemed it expedient to make the attempt. On the 24th of April, a large division of the Egyptian army commenced the attack on the fortress of Old Navarino, with a view to cover the debarkation of troops from the fleet. The spirited defence made by the garrison under Hadji Christo and the Archbishop of Modon, together with the approach of the Greek fleet, defeated the plan. In the evening, after a smart action, which continued all day, the enemy retired to their former position at Petrochori, while the fleet fell back in the direction of Modon. The Greek squadron kept beating off the town, and only eight ships, including that of the brave Anastasius Psamado, remained within the harbour.

“ Early on the next morning, the Turkish fleet was again observed under weigh in the direction of the fortress, and, about one o’clock, had advanced very near the island, while the Hydriot ships under Miaulis were becalmed at some distance from the shore. The island contained but one landing place, on the western side, which was defended by a small battery of three guns, and a garrison of 200 soldiers, under the direction of a brave young Hydriot, Starvo Sohini, and General Anagnostara. For the purpose of working the guns more effectually, a party of sailors, headed by Psamado, were landed from the ships in the bay; and Prince Mavrocordato and Count Santa Rosa, a Piedmontese volunteer, remained on the island to direct the operations of the whole. If bravery could have compensated for the inequality of numbers, the Greeks would have triumphed. Fifty armed boats were sent off from the Turkish fleet, containing 1500 men, on whose approach the little garrison open-

ed their fire, and for some time maintained their position nobly; but at length, surrounded from behind, cut off from relief or retreat, they were overpowered by numbers, and, after a desperate resistance, were to a man cut to pieces, their two brave leaders being among the last that fell. The divisions stationed at other points of the little island now fled in confusion, and all the Greek vessels in the harbour, except Psamado's, made their escape, passing unopposed through the division of the enemy's fleet placed at the mouth of the harbour to detain them. Mavrocordato and the governor of Neo-castro, both of whom were in the island, were so fortunate as to reach the remaining ship; but when the boats reached the shore a second time, for the purpose of bringing off others, the fugitives that eagerly crowded into them were too many, and sunk them. A few moments after, Psamado, desperately wounded, with a few followers, gained the beach, and was seen waving his cap for the assistance his countrymen could no longer render him. The Turks soon came up, and he fell, with his handful of men, under a shower of bullets. Not a Greek was now left alive on the island, and the solitary ship of Psamado had to make her way out through the fleet of the enemy, drawn up round the entrance of the harbour. During four hours of a dead calm, she maintained a desperate fight, but finally fought her way with great gallantry through the forty sail of the Egyptians, with the loss of two men killed and six wounded. Three hundred and fifty soldiers perished in the island, including the unfortunate Count Santa Rosa, who fought in the ranks with his musket and ataghan, and General Catzaro, besides ninety seamen in killed, wounded, and missing; a greater number than Hydra had lost during the four years of the war.*

* Amongst the number of those who that day fell in the cause of Greece, says Mr. Emerson, was Count Santa Rosa. Disappointed in his attempt to free his own country from the Austrian Sultan, and in consequence an exile from his home, he had joined the cause of Greece, with the generous intention of helping her to the acquirement of those blessings which his native country had failed in attempting to regain. His superior abilities were, however, brought to a wrong mart: amongst the intriguing, factious members of the Greek legislature, he found it impossible to serve her in any situation becoming his rank and talents; and at length adopted the resolution of joining the band of liberators as a volunteer, without any regard to pecuniary advantage or military rank, which, in fact, his ignorance of the language, as well as of the customs of the coun-

The following detail of this unfortunate affair was drawn up by Grasset, Private Secretary to Mavrocordato.—It is sufficiently enthusiastic, but given as truth by Count Pechio. Grasset was present on the occasion, and shared in its perils.

“Ibrahim Pacha says he had perceived the impossibility of gaining possession of the fortress at Navarino, without first making himself master of the island of Sphacteria, which forms the harbour, and from which he could easily bombard the fortress, as well as Old Navarino, situated at the extremity of the ports. The arrival of the fleet, which he had been long expecting, enabled him to execute the project.

The President of the executive body, who commanded the expedition, but who, from indisposition, had retired a short distance from the army, being informed of this intention of the Pacha, resolved to send his excellency Prince Mavrocordato to the general encampment of the Greeks, in order to induce them to reinforce the positions hereafter mentioned.

His Excellency arrived at Old Navarino on the night of the 24th or 25th of April, and found it defended by 100 men, under the command of General Hadji Christo and the Archbishop of Modon. On the 25th, at five in the morning, the out posts pronounced the arrival of the Egyptians, who were advancing upon the tongue of land which separates the harbour from the lake.

The Cretans, whom the Prince had brought with him,

try, rendered him unqualified for : and in the dress of a common soldier, with his ataghan and musket, he joined the camp at Navarino.—This step was taken against the urgent advice of his friends, who represented it as at once imprudent, unbecoming, and attended with no important advantages. Hurried on, however, by his own feelings, he followed a resolution which has conducted him to his fate ; and whilst we disapprove the measure, it is impossible not to do honour to the motives which prompted it, and sincerely to lament its consequences. His fate and his fall have, however, been glorious, and for him fortunate. Separated, to all appearance, for ever from his family, a ceaseless anxiety for whom was the canker of his existence, and an exile from a country after which his heart yearned, no other prospect was before him than years of sorrow and hopeless regret. He has fallen on the field of fame ; and, whilst we drop a tear of heartfelt regret over his memory as a friend, we must still rejoice, that as a patriot his high-born spirit has fled beyond the reach of tyrants.—*Picture of Greece, Vol. 1. p. 102.*

made a dash upon the enemy, and compelled him, by the fire of the tirailleurs, to fall back. During the skirmish, the sight of the Greek fleet, with the wind in its favour, sailing towards the enemy's fleet, redoubled the courage of the Greeks. Still, the Egyptians did not retire altogether, but kept out of reach of cannon shot. We imagined that the affair was at an end; but at mid-day the attack again began on the side of Old Navarino. It was soon over; and we perceived that the intention of the enemy was only to reconnoitre our positions, and to seize the village of Petrochori, standing near Old Navarino, and the tongue of land, preparatory to a regular attack on the old city, whilst the fleet was effecting a landing on the island. The Prince, convinced that it would take place the following day, sent the same night some troops over to the island to strengthen the points that were weak, and in the morning he joined them himself. The number of men assigned for the defence of this position did not amount to 500, including the sailors that had been landed from the eight Greek ships in the harbour; and this number, as his Excellency directly perceived, was insufficient for the defence. But what was to be done? Above all, it was essential to endeavour to prevent a disembarkation, which the enemy's fleet, by its coasting along the island, satisfied us it was about to attempt. The Prince visited all the positions, strengthened the weakest, and encouraged the men to do their duty. He wished to form a corps of 100 men, to move upon the point where the enemy should attempt their landing; but the disorder that always reigns amongst irregular troops, prevented it, notwithstanding its obvious importance. Three batteries, mounting eight cannons and a mortar, had been raised on the island, but they were of no great utility.

The enemy's fleet, to the number of fifty-two sail, were drawn up in good order; the brigs in advance, and covered by the frigates and corvettes from the attacks of the Greek fleet, which was, unfortunately, too far distant to give them any disturbance. Whilst the Prince was indefatigably ordering and disposing every thing for the best, the hostile fleet approached, surveyed us, and then fired two signal guns. Instantly the attack began on Old Navarino, and at the same moment the enemy's ships commenced their fire upon the Island. This was at eleven o'clock. The Prince being dressed in the European costume, was distinguished by those Franks who had once served under his orders, and who,

basely deserting the cross, had gone over to the Africans. The cannon were immediately directed to the spot where the Prince was standing; fearing, therefore, for his life, we besought him to retire, but our entreaties were unavailing.

We perceived the boats filling with Arabs to the sound of drums. They were ranged around, and began to move to the intended place of disembarkation. A brisk fire commenced on both sides—besides that from the fleet. The Arabs were at first repulsed, and seemed about to retire, but an Egyptian brig compelled them to return. Half an hour passed in the midst of a thick smoke, which prevented our seeing the progress of the disembarkation; when all at once the cry was heard, “the Egyptians are in the island!” The Prince, and those around, attempted to gain a height in the midst of a shower of balls; the former at length, exhausted with fatigue, exclaimed, “Help me, I am falling!” Instantly his general, the faithful Catzaro, and one of the soldiers took him in their arms, and carried him to the height. Here we perceived the Greeks taking to flight, and pursued by the Egyptians. All hopes were at an end. The Greek ships in the harbour had already put to sea, with the exception of a single one, that had not yet cut its cable, the brig of Captain Anastasius Psamado, who had come to the island with the Prince, and got separated in the confusion.

We hastened down to the sea, when a boat was sent to take the Prince on board. The sailors asked for their captain, “was he saved?” Alas! we were ignorant of his fate. We entered the boat as the Egyptians had gained the heights, having overwhelmed the unfortunate Greeks, and pursued them to the sea. The boat was sent back for Captain Psamado, whom the sailors imagined they saw on the shore. The Greek ships that had first set sail, taking advantage of a brisk wind, were already out of sight. Psamado’s brig alone remained. The cables were ordered to be cut. The sailors exclaimed, “Where is the captain?” The boat did not come back. We expected the delay would be the cause of our ruin. The sailors would wait for the captain: at length the boat returned, but, alas! without him. The cables were then cut, and we set sail; but the wind began to fall. Dimitri Sartouri, the commandant of the fortress of Navarino, who the morning before had come to the island to see the Prince, had been pursued to the shore by the Arabs, when he plunged into the sea amidst a shower of balls, and swam to the vessel. He had seen Captain Psamado fall.—

Thus perished this brave man, the brother in arms of Miaulis, and one of the most distinguished captains of Greece. One of the sailors, in despair for the loss of his captain, was about to set fire to the magazine, and it was with great difficulty that he could be brought to reason: We prepared for action; and Sartouri was chosen to command the vessel. He encouraged the sailors by his composure, and resolved to conquer or die. It was determined to pass through the enemy's fleet, which was waiting for us at the entrance of the harbour, as for a certain prey. The batteries erected on the island in front of Navarino were about to contribute to our destruction. The Arabs turned them against us. But despair gives courage; and we conceived a hope that it was possible to escape. At length we quitted the harbour, when five vessels, a frigate, a corvette, and three brigs, surrounded us and began firing. Our sailors, with determined courage, returned it briskly; and the enemy perceiving that we had the advantage, resolved to board us. The sailors immediately left the guns, and took to their small arms and cutlasses; but, at this time, hope did forsake us, and we were just on the point of blowing up the vessel. The Prince, who had evinced the same *sang froid* as on the island, was thrown down by a ball, and was waiting his death with composure, happy in the thoughts of dying in the service of his country, and with no other regret, on quitting this vale of alarms, than that of being no longer able to serve the Greeks. His Excellency, with a pistol in his hand, was awaiting the moment of boarding, to put a period to his existence. Vile Africans! in vain did you flatter yourselves with the hopes of taking alive the best of the Greeks. The sailors went below, or commended themselves to the Holy Virgin, embraced her image, and full of confidence in divine mercy, returned to the fight with the most undaunted resolution. The wind began to blow, but a further swarm of vessels commenced a fire upon us. Our brig, however, made way, our sailors felt their hopes revive, and we dared entertain the belief that it was possible to escape death. An old brig, a bad sailer, harrassed us considerably, and did us much damage. Our sails were shot through and through, and our masts were injured, as well as our rudder; but the cry was heard that Miaulis had attacked the Egyptian fleet, upon which every one redoubled his exertions, and the brig that annoyed us, manned, I have no doubt, with Europeans, sheered off;—but why should I add more? This battle will hereafter be spoken of,

and regarded as a fable. In short, after having sustained an attack from thirty-four ships of war, comprising frigates and corvettes, as well as brigs, after having caused the enemy considerable loss, and after having continued the fight for six hours without hopes of success, we were permitted to continue our course without further opposition from the Egyptian vessels. Thanks to the God of Battle ! a merchant brig of eighteen guns fought a whole fleet of many sail, and came off conquerors. O ye English and French admirals ! many traits of bravery, almost incredible, have been recorded of you ; but what will the world at large say of the battle maintained by the Mars ? Our sailors, urged by despair, fought like lions ; and hardly believing their success, they humbled themselves before the God of Armies, who had preserved them from apparently inevitable death. Glory to the Eternal ! The first and most illustrious of the supporters of Greek liberty, Prince Mavrocordato, has not fallen. His talents are still destined to save his country : and it was not written in the Book of Fate that one of the greatest ornaments of this world should be carried off in the flower of his age, and in the midst of the greatest dangers. His Excellency was perfectly composed, and happy to die for his country. Always kind and considerate, he was grieved to see us involved in his misfortune, and appeared to reproach us for having been too much attached to him. We had but two sailors killed, and seven wounded. Amongst the latter was Captain Sartouri. If ever a man performed his duty on the day of battle, if ever a man covered himself with glory, it certainly was the brave Dimitri Sartouri.

In the evening, when the Egyptian fleet had retired, we perceived two of their vessels on fire : but could not conceive how it happened. Though we were successful at sea, our loss on shore was considerable. The minister at war, Anagnostara Papageorge, the brave Colonel Stauro, Shaini of Hydra, General Catzaro, and Zafiropulo, a member of the legislative body, who had come over with the Prince to be enabled to ransom his brother Panajoti Zafiropulo, made prisoner some time before, and two other chiefs, perished in the battle. We had also to deplore the death of a worthy and illustrious Philhellene, the Count of Santa Rosa, who served as a volunteer in the Greek army.

Having been both an actor and an eye witness throughout

these transactions, I can speak with confidence on the accuracy of the facts I have stated."*†

Two days after the capture of the island, the garrison of Old Navarino, who were now shut up with but little provisions, and water for only a few days, capitulated on condition of laying down their arms and retiring. For these favourable terms they were unexpectedly indebted to two of the French officers in the Pacha's service; and on the faith of their representations, they ventured to march out, about a thousand men in number, under the command of General Luca and an American Philhellene named Jarvis. Having surrendered their arms at the feet of the Pacha, they were escorted for a few miles by a small body of horse, and were then permitted to depart in safety. The Turkish ships, having entered the harbour, now opened a fire upon Neocastro, about fifty pieces of cannon being placed in battery on the land side; but not till the 23d of May, after a week consumed in negotiation, the garrison marched out on the same terms as those of Navarino, and were embarked in European vessels for Calamata, with the exception of Generals Iatracco and Giorgio Mavromichali, who were detained prisoners. By the fall of this place, Ibrahim Pacha became possessed of the key to the entire western coast of the Morea, there being no other fortresses to oppose his progress, and the country consists of open plains, affording no impediment to the operations of cavalry; while the beautiful harbour gave the enemy a secure hold to winter in.

Shortly after the fall of Navarino, the Egyptian Pacha sustained a naval loss, which, though not of sufficient magnitude materially to affect the operations of the Ottoman fleet,

* Picture of Greece, vol. ii. p. 115—122.

† Mr. Emerson was at Hydra when the vessels arrived bringing the melancholy news of the disaster of Sphacteria. "During the day," says he, "several vessels had arrived from the fleet, and the rocks on the beach became crowded with groups of females, eagerly watching its approach. As the vessels came slowly into the harbour, every voice was raised in anxious inquiry for the safety of their brothers, or their relatives, and many a straining eye sunk in tears and despair, as each learned the sorrowful intelligence of their fate. I never witnessed a more mournful sight: the few, but burning, heart-wrung tears of the aged, and the clamorous grief of the young; the bitter resignation with which the mother and the widow heard the confirmation of their fears; and the agonies of disappointed hope in the daughters and sisters of the slain—each spoke the anguish of the occasion:—but such are attendants of war."

served to revive the drooping spirits and rekindle the almost extinguished ardour of the Moreotes.

“Immediately after the loss of the Island, while the Greek fleet continued cruising off the coast, the squadron of the Pacha separated into two divisions, one of which remained in the vicinity and harbour of Navarino; whilst the other, consisting of two frigates and four corvettes, with numerous transports, moved down to Modon, where, on the 12th instant, they were followed by Miaulis, with four fire-ships and twenty-two brigs. In the evening of the same day, a most favourable breeze setting in from the south-east, he made his signal for the fire-ships to enter the harbour. Besides the Egyptian squadron, there were likewise within a number of other, Austrian, Ionian, and Sicilian craft, making in all about thirty-five or forty sail. The enemy, on the advance of the fire-ships, immediately attempted to cut their cables and escape; but the same steady breeze which drove on the brulots, and blew direct into the harbour, prevented their egress. The consequence was, that they were thrown into the utmost confusion, ran foul of each other, and finally were driven, *en masse*, beneath the walls of the fortress; where, the brulots still advancing upon them, the whole Egyptian squadron, with a few Austrian and other ships, in all twenty-five, fell victims to the flames. Only a very few of the smaller European craft, which lay further out from the town, succeeded in making their escape, and brought the particulars of the event to the Pacha of Navarino. In the meantime, the missiles caused by the blowing up of the shipping and cannon, falling within the walls, set fire to a store-house containing a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, which blew up with a tremendous explosion, which was visible for several miles from sea. Owing to the panic on the first appearance of the Greeks, not the slightest opposition was made by the Egyptians; and after destroying the squadron of the enemy, the brulottiers succeeded in regaining their own ships, without the loss of a single man.”

“While the feelings of the Moreotes were still vibrating between joy and despondency, the cry for Colocotroni was again loudly raised. Some of the provinces had before demanded his release, and he had himself besought the Government to allow him to engage the enemy, offering his two sons as hostages. Two members of the Government were

in favour of his release, and two against it;* but, on the arrival of the President, it was referred to the legislative body, who decided the point in his favour, and a deputation proceeded to Hydra to conduct him back to Napoli.† He arrived on the 30th of May, and on the next day, his reconciliation to the Government was celebrated with all due ceremony, amid the acclamations of the populace. A general amnesty and oblivion were mutually agreed to and ratified in the church of St. George; after which Signor Tricoupi delivered an oration to the people and the soldiers in the grand square. Colocotroni replied without premeditation to the speech addressed to him by one of the legislative body. "In coming hither from Hydra, I have cast all rancour into the sea; do you so likewise; bury in that gulph all your hatreds and dis-

* Coletti, Colocotroni's principal enemy, was one of those who opposed his release. Conduriotti, considering Coletti as the suborner of the Roumeliot troops who had abandoned the camp, wished him to be expelled; but perceiving that he should soon require his support against Colocotroni, he gave up this idea. Mavrocordato, however, was the most obnoxious to the Moreote party.

† "When I beheld Colocotroni sitting amid ten of his companions, prisoners of state, and treated with respect by his guards, I called to mind the picture that Tasso draws of Satan in the council of devils. His neglected gray hairs fell upon his broad shoulders, and mingled with his rough beard, which, since his imprisonment, he had allowed to grow as a mark of grief and revenge. His form is rugged and vigorous, his eyes full of fire, and his martial and savage figure resembled one of the sharp gray rocks that are scattered throughout the Archipelago." Such is the portrait of the old klepht drawn by Count Pecchio. Mr. Emerson's description is not less picturesque, though he gives a different colouring to his hair. He obtained permission to visit the rebel chiefs at Hydra a short time before. "The generality of them exhibit nothing peculiar to their appearance, being, like the rest of their countrymen, wild, savage-looking soldiers, clad in tarnished embroidered vests, and dirty *juctanellas*. Colocotroni was, however, easily distinguished from the rest by his particularly savage and uncultivated air. His person is low, but built like a Hercules, and his short bull-neck is surmounted by a head rather larger than proportion warrants, which, with its shaggy eye-brows, dark mustachios, unshorn beard, and raven hair falling in curls over his shoulders, formed a complete study for a painter. He had formerly been in the service of the English in the Ionian Islands, as a serjeant of guards, and spoke with peculiar pride of his acquaintance with several British officers. He was in high spirits at the prospect of his liberation. . . . During my visit, he spoke of his enemies in the Government with moderation and no appearance of rancour; he, however, said little; but on the name of Mavrocordato or Coletti being mentioned, he gathered his brow, compressed his lips, and baring his huge arm to the shoulder, he flung it from him with desperate determination."—*Picture of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 164, 167; vol. ii. p. 86.

sensions : that shall be the treasure which you will gain"—alluding to the excavations in search of treasure which were then being made. Proclamations were now issued by the Government, calling the inhabitants of the Morea to arms ; all the shops of Napoli were ordered to be closed, except a sufficient number of bakers and butchers, and the whole population was to join the standard of Colocotroni. By the 10th of June, he had assembled about 8000 men at Tripolitza. Pappa Flescias had already marched to garrison Arcadia; and Petro Bey was raising his followers in Maina.

In the meantime, Miaulis, the Hydriote admiral, had determined on a desperate but decisive service ; this was no other than to enter the harbour of Suda, and attempt the destruction of the remainder of the Egyptian fleet. He was just about to sail, when news was brought, that the Turkish fleet had passed the Dardanelles, and was at that time within thirty miles of Hydra. Instantly signals were fired, and in a quarter of an hour every anchor was weighed, every yard-arm spread with canvas, and the whole fleet steered for that island to protect their homes. They had nearly reached it, when a caique came off with the gratifying intelligence that, on the 1st of June, the hostile fleet had been met in the channel of Cavo Doro by the fire-ships of the second Greek squadron under Saktouri; when a line of battle-ship, (the Capitan Pacha's, who escaped by sailing in a smaller ship,) a corvette, and a frigate, were destroyed, and the Capitan Aga perished in the flames. Five transports also were taken, laden with stores and ammunition, which were safely conveyed to Spezzia. The remainder of the fleet dispersed in all directions : one corvette was driven to Syra, where she was burned by the crew, after feigning to surrender, but 150 of the men were made prisoners. The larger body succeeded in reaching Rhodes ; but it was some time ere they could be re-assembled. This brilliant success, besides relieving Hydra, had a powerful effect in raising the spirits of the Greeks. The vessels contained a large proportion of the stores intended for the siege of Missolonghi."

Miaulis now steering southward, was joined by Saktouri's squadron, making their united force amount to about seventy sail ; and it was resolved that the whole fleet, after completing their provisioning at Milo, should proceed to Suda, where the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were now collected. It was not before the evening of the 12th that they reached the harbour, owing in part to stormy weather, and partly to

delays arising from the insubordination of the seamen. On the 14th, a light breeze springing up, enabled them to attack a division of the Ottoman fleet in the outer harbour ; and at the expense of three fire-ships and ten men killed, they destroyed a corvette with its equipage. They were prevented from further success chiefly by the dropping of the wind, and by the unwonted precaution of the Turks, who in consequence of information given by a French schooner, had separated into four divisions. On the 17th, a severe gale separated the Greek fleet, and they retired to Hydra, leaving the Turkish admiral to proceed unmolested to Navarino, where he landed a reinforcement of 5000 men. Thence he pursued his course with seven frigates and several smaller vessels to Missolonghi, where he arrived on the 10th of July.

On the 23d of May, Mr. Emerson went on board of Miaulis' ship, where he remained a considerable time, and consequently had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with that celebrated Admiral, and of observing the state of naval tactics among the Greeks. We copy his observations on these important subjects.

“Miaulis,” says he, “is a man of from fifty to sixty years old, his figure somewhat clumsy, but with a countenance peculiarly expressive of intelligence, humanity, and good nature. His family have been long established at Hydra, and he has himself been accustomed to the sea from a child. Being intrusted at nineteen by his father with the management of a small brig which traded in the Archipelago, his successes in trade were equal to any of his countrymen, and about fifteen years ago he was amongst the richest of the islanders ; but the unfortunate loss of a vessel on the coast of Spain, which, together with her cargo, was his own property, and worth about 160,000 piastres, reduced his circumstances to mediocrity. A few years however in some degree recruited his fortunes, so far as, at the opening of the war, to enable him to contribute three brigs to the navy of Greece. He had at one time been captured, with two other Spezziot vessels, by Lord Nelson; his companions after a strict investigation, still maintaining that their cargo was not French property, were condemned : whilst his frankness in admitting the justness of the capture, notwithstanding that circumstance evidently convicted him, induced the British Admiral to give him his liberty. I never met with any man of more unaffected and friendly manners. He seems totally above any vaunting or affectation, and only anxious to achieve his own grand object

—the liberation of his country, alike unmoved by the malice and envy of his enemies, or the lavish praise of his countrymen. The bravery of his associates is mingled with a considerable portion of ambition ; but with him there seems but one unbiassed spring, of steady sterling patriotism.

The number of vessels at present employed in the Greek fleet does not exceed sixty-five ; of these forty are Hydriots, sixteen belong to Spezzia, and the remainder are the remnants of the Ipsariot squadron. The number of brulots is, of course, constantly varying, but seldom exceed fifteen, and is frequently so low as one or two. Of the vessels of war, about six or seven carry three masts, and are of three or four hundred tons burthen ; the remainder are all brigs and single-masted schooners, of from one hundred to two hundred and fifty tons ; the greatest number of guns carried by any vessel is eighteen, and these are almost always of different calibre, in consequence of having been brought from different forts, or purchased at various times. The weightiest are a few eighteen pounders in Miaulis and Sokin's brigs ; the remainder, in general, twelve cannonades, or a few long guns of the same weight of metal. The entire Greek fleet is as yet the property of individuals ; and, though the sailors are paid by the Government, as well as an allowance made for the disbursements of the vessels, the owners are, in general, subject to a main part of the expenses of those vessels. Conduriotti and his brother have furnished ten, Tombazi three, Miaulis three. The rest are, in general, fitted out by individuals, or are the joint property of the captain and his family. The beauty of their models, and the taste displayed in the cutting of their sails, have rendered the Hydriot vessels peculiar favourites with foreign seamen ; and it is remarkable, that this symmetry is merely the result of imitation ; the Hydriot builders constructing their vessels solely from custom, and by the eye, having no regular system or mathematical guide for their direction, and this, too, with most imperfect tools ;—two sheep skins, for instance, worked by the hands, supplying the place of bellows. Seven only of the fleet have been built in Toulon and Leghorn, and the other ports of the Mediterranean ; and these are more remarkable for carrying a weighty cargo, than for the grace of their models.

The number of seamen employed in each ship varies from 100 to 60, and their pay from 70 to 40 piastres a month. Their activity and alertness, as sailors, are already well

known ; but, from the narrow circle in which they have been accustomed to trade, very few having passed the Straits of Gibraltar, they are not what may be called experienced seamen ; and the number, even of captains, who have studied navigation, is so small, that they have frequently been enumerated to me, and do not, I think, exceed ten or a dozen ; the necessity of this branch of education, being obviated by their coast voyages and short seas.

As to the discipline or government of their ships, such a thing scarcely exists. There is, however, a kind of system which is observed in a few ships ; and which, it is understood, should be adopted in all. Under the captain, who has of course the internal management of the ship entirely at his disposal, and is subject to no orders save the admiral's, there is another officer to whom is entrusted the navigation of the vessel ; and who, in some degree, answers to the sailing-master in our navy. Next to him in rank, is the captain's secretary ; who, besides writing his dispatches, keeps likewise a purser's account ; and to him succeeds the steward, who has the serving out of the ship's provisions to each mess ; and as a remnant of Turkish discipline, the cook closes the list of officers. Petty officers, gunners, or captains of quarters, there are none : and in fact, as I have said, it is in very few ships that even those mentioned above exist ; for, even here the same insubordination and want of union, which has been so widely prejudicial to the best interests of Greece, reign as universally as on shore.

The principal seat of discord is with the Spezziots, who, jealous of the superior power and means which have qualified the Hydriots to take the lead in the affairs of Greece, have never ceased to express their discontent, and find fault with the actions of these fellows ; nor ever yet consented to co-operate with full spirit and unanimity, even in measures where a consolidation of forces was needful to ensure success. With their own admiral, their own system of discipline, and even their own code of signals, their squadron always sailing in a body, and aloof from the rest, they seem rather an appendage than a part of the fleet ; and have never failed to disobey any orders, or rather, refuse any requests of the Hydriot commander, which have not coincided with their own views of interests, advantage, or convenience. The unfortunate Ipsariots, on the contrary, with no longer any native land to fight for, no national superiority to support,

deprived of kindred and connection, and, in fact, isolated beings, cast upon the world and their own exertions, with no spot of earth which they claim as their own ; only struggling to liberate a land where they can again place the remnants of their families and fortunes, in some spot which they may yet be able to call by the endearing name of home ; aloof from all faction, and swayed by no contending interests—these men have ever displayed the most undaunted bravery, and gladly coalesced in every measure proposed for the common advantage ; and consequently uniting themselves with the most efficient body, the Hydriots, have, in common with them, shared the envy and ill-offices of their countrymen in Spezzia.

An unfortunate spirit of jealousy has thus had influence enough over individuals to separate the feelings of the navy in general ; and private motives of envy and ambition have created similar factions amongst the capitani of each particular island—places of favour, interest, ambition, and even pay, giving rise to constant dissensions, bickerings, and insubordination. Amongst the commanders, however, the most frequent cause of disunion is vanity. I have never met any body of men so greedy of applause as the Hydriot captains ; and the prospect of being the subject of an ode, or even an elegy, of being eulogized in the Hydriot Journal, or mentioned in English newspapers, would be sufficient to stimulate numbers of them to attempt any enterprise, however hazardous ; consequently, the successes or advancement of one, in proportion as it casts the fame of his fellows into the shade, excites a spirit of envy and discontent ; and whilst this creates one faction of those whose minds are irritated by disappointed ambition, a worse feeling has produced a second and a most dishonourable class.

After the surprising exploits and well-earned fame of the Greek fleet, it may perhaps appear strange to assert, that those actions have been accomplished solely by the brulottiers, with the assistance of not more than 12 or 14 ships out of all the fleet ; and that the remaining 45 or 50 have rendered no other service to the cause of their country, than by their show adding to the apparent force of her navy, and tending to augment the terror of the enemy by a display of numbers. Yet such is actually the fact, and one which the powerless arm of the Government has, as yet, been unable to remedy. This circumstance arises from the ships being all private property ; and whilst the few brave fellows, who bear-

tate at nothing to accomplish their object, boldly face the most powerful force of the enemy ; others, less ambitious of honour, and more wary, content themselves with hanging aloof, and discharging a few harmless cannon beyond the range of the enemy's shot ; urging, as an ostensible reason, the folly of risking more lives than are necessary for the protection of their brulottiers ; or, if more closely pushed, making no scruple to declare that they did not wish to have their own small ships exposed to the heavy fire of the Turkish frigates, when neither their own means, nor the allowance of the Government, are adequate to repair the damages they might sustain. Thus deprived by vanity or selfishness of the greater bulk of his fleet, Miaulis, with about a dozen faithful and subordinate followers, to aid the noble fellows who work the fire-ships, and who have never yet shrunk from their duty, has achieved every action which has tended to advance the liberty of Greece, and to bring its struggle towards a conclusion.

But it is not amongst the captains alone that those deplorable feelings have been productive of unfortunate results : imitating the example of their commanders, and well aware of the inefficiency of the Government to inflict punishment for disobedience, the crews invariably manifest the same spirit of turbulence and insubordination. Proud of their newly acquired liberty, and impatient of any restraint, they will not listen to the name of subjection, or obedience to orders ; and the circumstance of every crew being composed of different descendants and relatives of the same family and name, and commanded by a person who is nearly connected by blood or marriage with almost every seamen on board, gives the captain an unwillingness to proceed to extremities, which must only tend to irritate the feelings of his family ; and, unsupported by the measures of an efficient Government, be finally productive of no other consequences than further disobedience, and more widely-spread discontent. In consequence of this, it is not the will of the admiral, or the wishes of the captain, but the consent of each crew, that must be obtained, previous to entering upon any important measure. If it meets their views of advantage or expediency, there is little difficulty in its completion ; otherwise, there is no power to enforce its execution. However, as all parties are well aware of the extent of their respective influence, open quarrels are never heard of. If the admiral's orders are agreeable to the captain, and his measures appear ad-

visible to the crew, all goes on well ; if not, and it should happen that the demand is negatived, the affair drops, and some new movement is adopted, without dispute or useless recrimination.

In the domestic economy of each ship there is consequently a great deal of confusion and irregularity. No man on board has any regular quarters or post assigned him ; on the issuing of an order from the captain it is repeated by every mouth from end to end of the ship, and all crowd with eagerness to be the first to perform the most trifling service. This is of course productive of extreme bustle and confusion, especially in the eyes and ears of a stranger, and frequently occasioned me no little alarm ; as from the shouts and trampling over head I have often deemed the ship in danger, but on hurrying upon deck found it was merely some trivial duty, about which all were contending, such as setting a studding-sail, or hoisting up the jolly-boat.

The only *regular* duty on board seems to be the discipline at dinner hour. The provisions of the sailors are not of the best description, consisting principally of salt and dried fish, sardellas, and Newfoundland cod ; but to make amends for this, they have excellent biscuit, (sliced bread, leaven baked, being the real biscuit,) and the best Grecian wine. Mid-day and sunset are the hours of dinner and supper, and before that time every mess, consisting of six persons, has its little table prepared between two of the guns. As soon as the signal is given, each table is served by the steward with its allowance of fish, bread, oil, wine, and vinegar, the eldest man of the mess acting as dispenser, the youngest boy as cup-bearer. During the dinner hour the steward continues walking round from mess to mess, to see that each table has its regular allowance of wine and bread, and during the whole ceremony the utmost silence and decorum is preserved. The tables of the captains, and particularly that of the admiral, are, however, much better served, as at every Grecian port which they put into, the inhabitants vie with each other who shall send to the fleet the most acceptable presents of fresh provisions, vegetables, fruit, wine, cheese, and sweetmeats, and these, together with the stock of European stores and French wines, render their living rather luxurious.”*

* Picture of Greece, vol. i. p. 120—123.

But to return again to our main subject. The siege of Missolonghi had been carried on by the Pacha for two months, without making any impression. On the 27th of April, the first division of 5000 men had made their appearance, and they were soon followed by other parties ; but their whole artillery consisted of only two pieces of small cannon, and they were already in want of provisions. On being joined, however, by Isouf Pacha, of Patras, their numbers amounted to 14,000 men, and they had five cannon and one mortar ; others were subsequently obtained from Lepanto, and Patras. Several smart skirmishes took place. On the 6th of May, a body of 200 Roumeliots attacked the enemy's position at the village of Pappadia, which was defended by 2000 men, under Banousa Cebrano, and succeeded in dislodging him, with a slight loss on the part of the Greeks. The Turks lost sixty killed and a number of prisoners. They then took up a new position, and were again obliged to retire before the Greeks with considerable loss, and to send to the camp for succours. At Anatolico, similar success attended the efforts of the Greeks in repelling an assault. On the 10th of May, the Turks, having completed their preparations for attack, commenced throwing bombs and shot into Missolonghi, which the garrison returned with equal vigour. A constant discharge of shot and shells was now kept up by the besiegers, who gradually advanced their lines and position nearer to the walls ; but very little mischief was done by the artillery, and the spirit of the garrison and inhabitants remained unbroken. Their provisions and ammunition, however, became nearly exhausted, and both parties were looking with anxiety for their respective fleets.

On the arrival of the Capitan Pacha in July, the Seraskier was enabled to press the siege with increased vigour. The boats of the Ottoman fleet entered the lagoons, and the non-arrival of the Hydriote squadron rendered the situation of the besieged very critical. The garrison of Patras were able with impunity to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Clarenza and Gastouni ; and about the middle of July, the latter town was almost totally burned by a party of Turkish cavalry. Anatolico surrendered on the 21st of July, the garrison of 300 men being made prisoners of war ; and on the 1st of August, the Turkish commander, apprehensive of the approach of the Greek fleet, ordered a general attack upon Missolonghi. The works on the land-side were assailed in four places, while thirty boats occupied the lake. The Ot-

tomans were, however, every where repulsed, with the loss of part of their artillery ; and two days after (Aug. 3,) the Greek fleet, consisting of about twenty-five brigs, made its appearance. So critical was the moment of their arrival, that the town is stated to have been on the point of capitulating, their ammunition and provisions being exhausted, and their supply of water being cut off, when a dark night and a favourable wind enabled the Greek squadron securely to pass the Turkish line, and to take up a position between them and the town. On the 4th and 5th of the month, they succeeded in destroying two small ships of war, as well as all the boats on the lagoon, and throwing sufficient stores into the town. About mid-day, the Turkish fleet, without firing a shot, withdrew, part of it retiring behind the castles of the Gulf of Corinth, and the greater part making sail for the Ægean sea, in the direction of Durazzo. This appears to have been a feint, for they soon afterwards steered southwards for Rhodes, followed by the Greek squadron.

The Seraskier was still sufficiently strong to maintain his position without much interruption ; and he continued the siege, though with scarcely any other result except that of loss to his own troops, in expectation of reinforcements from the Egyptian fleet fitting out at Alexandria. A bold but unsuccessful attempt had been made, on the 10th of August, to destroy this fleet. Three fire-ships succeeded in penetrating into the harbour undiscovered, but a sudden change of wind defeated the project, and though the brulots were burned, they did no mischief. Had this attempt succeeded, it would have greatly altered the aspect of affairs ; but in November, the Turco-Egyptian fleet appeared in the Ægean sea.

In the Morea, the campaign had proved the most disastrous that the Greeks had hitherto experienced. After the surrender of Navarino and Neo-castro, Ibrahim Pacha remained there only a few days, for the purpose of directing the repair of the fortifications and the erection of a new battery on the island, and then dividing his forces, advanced on Arcadia and Calamato. The latter place, which possessed neither forces nor defence, he gained possession of after a well-maintained fight with a body of Greeks. But at Aghia, a strong position on the mountain which overhangs the town of Arcadia, a desperate conflict took place between the other detachment of Ibrahim's army and the Greeks under Pappa Flescía, supported by a few German officers. That valorous priest had taken post at the head of 800 men, but 150 only

remained with him, the others having fled; and the whole of this valiant band perished sword in hand, overpowered by numbers. Pappa Flescias fell, after performing prodigies of valour.* Ibrahim Pacha admitted a loss, on his part, of 250 men. After this victory, the Egyptians, in advancing on Arcadia, received a check from General Cohopalo, and fell back several miles; and on crossing the mountain called Makriplaghi, which separates the plain of Messenia from the valley of the Upper Alpheus, he sustained the loss of 150 men from the troops of Colocotroni, who was now advancing to occupy the passes; but at length, after various skirmishes, in which the Greeks were generally worsted, Ibrahim Pacha succeeded in reaching Leondari.

It was now in vain to think of saving Tripolitza, which contained no garrison: and orders were therefore sent to the inhabitants to burn the town. Collecting whatever portion of their property they were able to remove, they surrendered their houses and their standing crops to the flames, and retreated towards Argos and Napoli di Romania. On the 20th of June, the Egyptians entered the abandoned and half-demolished capital; and three days after, hastening to profit by his advantage, Ibrahim Pacha advanced on Napoli. Colocotroni, it seems, imagining that the Pacha's object would be to open a communication with Patras, had drawn off all his troops to occupy the passes in that quarter, thus leaving the route to Napoli undefended. When news arrived of his approach, Demetrius Ipsilanti, "good at need," with about 250 men, hastened to occupy the village of Mylos (the Mills.)†

* Pappa Flessa, or Flescias, alias Gregorius Dikaïos, at this time minister of the interior, was one of the most zealous apostles of the revolution, to which cause, however, he did credit only by his bravery. A priest by profession, he lived surrounded with a numerous harem. A patriot *par excellence*, he enriched himself amid the miseries of his country. It is some proof of virtuous feeling in the Greeks, that though his military talents and courage, and his valuable services, procured him official employment, his immoralities gave general umbrage, and he was contemned by all parties. Count Pecchio met him on the road between Argos and Tripolitza, preceded by his harem and two pipe-bearers, in the oriental style, and with all the pomp of a Pacha. He was handsome, and his countenance had even an expression of majesty, adapted to command the homage of the people; yet he was far from popular.— See *Picture of Greece*, vol. i. p. 89; vol. ii. p. 136.

† *Modern Traveller*, Part ii. pp. 219, 238.

“Early on Saturday morning, the Egyptian line was seen descending the hills which lead to the rear of the village.—About eleven o’clock they had gained the plain ; but, instead of making any attempt on Mylos, they seemed to be only intent on pursuing their course towards Argos, and, for this purpose passed down a narrow plain lying between the village and the surrounding hills. Just, however, as the rear of their line had passed Mylos, a volley of musketry was discharged by the Greeks, a ball from which wounded Colonel Seve, a French renegade, who, under the name of Soliman Bey, has long been the chief military assistant of the Pacha, and the agent for the organization of the Egyptian troops.—Immediately the line halted, and, after some little delay, the main body passed on towards Argos, whilst about 2000 of the rear-guard remained behind, and advanced to the attack of the village.

“Fortunately, the nature of the ground was such as to render the assistance of the cavalry impossible. They were obliged, after some useless manœuvres in front of the Greek intrenchment, to retire with the loss of a few men. The main body, however, charged the garrison so closely, that, driven from every post, they were obliged to retire behind the fence of an orchard on the sea-shore, where they had a defence of three tambours, or low walls between them and the enemy. The two first of these were quickly forced, and, driven behind the third, with no possibility of further retreat, and nearly surrounded by the overpowering numbers of the enemy, their case now seemed desperate. The Egyptians, at length, advanced almost close to the third wall. ‘Now, my brothers,’ exclaimed a Greek capitano, ‘is the moment to draw our swords.’ With those words, he flung away his musket, and, springing over the fence, followed by the greater body of his men, attacked the enemy with his ataghan. A desperate conflict ensued for some moments, till the Egyptians, terrified by the sudden enthusiasm of their foes, at length gave way, and commenced retreating towards the plain, whither they were pursued, for some distance, by the victorious Greeks.* Here they again rallied, and formed in order : but, instead of again renewing the attack, they left the Greeks in possession of the village, and continued their

* It appears from other accounts, that several *misticos*, which lay close to the shore, opened a destructive fire upon the Egyptians, and contributed not a little to their defeat.

march to rejoin their comrades, who about mid-day encamped within three or four miles of Argos.

“ The inhabitants of that town, on the first notice of the enemy’s approach, had fled to Napoli di Romania, with what little of their property they were able to carry off, leaving their houses and homes to the mercy of the enemy. On Sunday morning, the flames, which were clearly visible at Napoli in that direction, told that the Pacha’s troops were in motion : they had advanced to the town, and, finding it totally deserted, set fire to it in various quarters, and reduced the whole to ruins. The remainder of the day, all was quiet; but early on Monday morning a party of cavalry were discovered on their march towards Napoli di Romania. All was instantly in bustle and confusion on their approach ; however, as they proved to be only about 700 in number, the panic soon subsided ; and a party of mounted Greeks, about eighty, who sallied out to meet them, succeeded in putting them to flight, with the loss of one man. They then retired towards their encampment, and the same evening, having struck his tents, the Pacha set out on his return towards Tripolizza. Colocotroni, who had been advertised of his march towards Napoli, had, with all haste, returned from Karitena, to occupy the Parthenian passes in his rear, and by that means cut off his return towards Modon ; he was now stationed with a large body of troops on the Bey’s Causeway, where the slightest opposition must have proved fatal to the Pacha’s army.— Such, however, was his superior knowledge of the country and the movements of the Greeks, that dividing his line into two columns, he passed on each side of the Moreotes, and uniting again in the rear, had reached Tripolizza in safety ere Colocotroni was aware of his departure from Mylos. Here he had again established his head quarters.”*

Napoli di Romania presented at this moment a scene of confusion, perplexity, and disorder, not easily to be described. Mr. Emerson, who arrived there on the 30th of June, when the consternation was at its height, says, that nothing could exceed the melancholy and filthy scene. “ On every side, around the walls, were pitched the tents of the unfortunate refugees from Tripolizza and Argos, who had not been permitted to enter the city, for fear of increasing the contagious fever ; and within the walls the streets were thronged with soldiers, who had assembled from all quarters for the defence

* Picture of Greece.

of the town, or their own protection. Every shop was closed, and it was with difficulty that we could procure a few biscuits, some olives, and a little cloying sweet wine for supper; the peasantry in the vicinity having all fled on the appearance of the Egyptians, and no longer bringing in the necessary supplies of provisions for the inhabitants of Napoli. All the houses were filled with soldiers; my own lodgings were occupied by eighteen. The streets were every where in confusion with the quarrels of the new comers and the inhabitants, and the utmost efforts of the regular corps were scarcely sufficient to keep down the turbulence of the undisciplined soldiery. During the night the whole body continued under arms, in the public square, awaiting every moment a general insurrection, threatened by the irregular troops, to plunder the town and make up their deficiency of pay.—This, however, did not occur; and after a sleepless night of alarm and anxiety, morning broke, and found all in a state of comparative quiet. Every Greek whom I met, appeared at the *acme* of perplexity; and their gratitude for their present escape was almost overcome by their anxiety for future events.

“The Government seemed paralyzed at the successes of the enemy, and at thus seeing a formerly despised foe advance openly beneath their very walls, and again return unmolested through the heart of their country. Neither were their hopes by any means raised on the receipt of a letter from Colocotroni, who was in the vicinity of Tripolizza, in which he loudly complained of the conduct of his troops, of their pusillanimity in formerly retreating, and leaving every pass undisputed to the enemy; adding, that now, though his numbers were by no means deficient, and a spirited attack on Tripolizza might be attended with glorious results, he found it impossible to induce a single soldier to follow him.”

But they had still another source of perplexity in those internal factions and foreign intrigues to which the failure of the cause has hitherto been chiefly attributable. About this time, a French faction started up, headed by a General Roche, who had in April arrived at Napoli, furnished with credentials from the Greek Committee at Paris. This gentleman professed himself a warm and disinterested Philhellénist, whose sole object was to obtain a thorough knowledge of the state of the country for the information of his colleagues, and he soon insinuated himself into the good graces of the Executive. A short time only had elapsed be-

fore he began to develope further views by reprobating the idea of a republican Government, and declaring his opinion to be in favour of a monarchy: he even went so far as to propose as sovereign the second son of the Duke of Orleans. This was merely thrown out, however, in conversation, till after the fall of Navarino, when he openly offered his plan to Government, promising in case it should be accepted, the aid of twelve thousand disciplined French troops. Although he met with no encouragement, the intrigues of the General and the French Commodore De Rigny, still continued, and every new disaster gave a fresh opening to their efforts; its expediency was urged in the public *cafes*, and a party was even formed in its favour among the members of Government. Mavrocordato, Tricoupi, and the Hydriote party, however, strongly opposed it, declaring that, were the protection or interference of any foreign power found requisite, that of Great Britain would be the most efficient. In fact, while Capt. Hamilton* was at Napoli, a deputation from the Islands had solicited him to take them under British protection,—a request with which he, of course, explained to them that he had not authority to comply. The clamours and complaints of the French and English parties becoming daily more annoying, Mavrocordato repaired to Hydra, to unite with the primates in urging the fleet again to put to sea, in order, by some favourable diversion, to allay the tumult of faction; but the sailors taking advantage of the alarming crisis, refused to embark unless their pay (already amounting to six or seven dollars a month) were doubled, and two months paid in advance. This conduct was the more disgraceful, as their wages had always been regularly paid, even when the pay of the army had been allowed to run in arrears. On the 20th of July, another instalment of the loan fortunately arrived to rekindle the patriotism of the Hydriote seamen; and they consented to sail in pursuit of the Captain Pacha's fleet, which had been suffered, as already mentioned, to proceed to Missolonghi.

* This distinguished officer has the rare good fortune of being nearly as much respected by the Turks as by the Greeks; and the influence of his name in the Levant is as great as that of Sir Sidney Smith once was in Syria, or that of Nelson all over the Mediterranean. By the Greeks, the Chaplain to H. M. ship *Cambrian* assures us, "Captain Hamilton is regarded as a sort of guardian angel, whose benevolence is as unbounded as his power; yet, he has never once favoured them at the expense of justice, or when it interfered with the course of duty."—*Swan's Journal*, vol. ii. p. 155.

Whether it was owing to the loan or to the exigencies of the country, does not appear, but towards the end of July the French faction was so fast giving way, and the majority of the populace, as well as of the Government, so strongly and openly declared themselves in favour of British protection, that General Roche drew up a protest against their decision, in which, strange to say, he was joined by a young American officer of the name of Washington, who had arrived in Greece in June, furnished with credentials from the American Greek Committee at Boston. In this imbecile document, the French Royalist and the American Republican, united by a common hatred of England, affect to consider the wish for British interference as an insult to their respective nations. The paper was of course treated by all parties with merited contempt; and Mr. Washington, the soi-disant Representative of America, shortly afterwards left Greece, under rather awkward circumstances.* In the meantime, it was determined at Hydra, that fresh deputies should be sent to London, while Signor Tricoupi was to proceed to Corfu, to consult the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Isles. Accordingly, the eldest son of Miaulis, and one of the Hydriote primates, embarked for England at the end of

* Emerson, pp. 291, 2. In the reply of the Greek Government, it is remarked, that "Mr. Washington is not the deputy of any committee; he is nothing more than a private gentleman." Thus, he would seem to have been a mere adventurer. They go on to say, that the document by which they place their national independence under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, is not the act of a few individuals, but of all the deputies, primates, the army, and the navy of Greece; that they complain of no government, but that they do complain of certain agents of some European powers, who, in disregard of the neutrality proclaimed on the part of their governments at the congress of Verona and at Laybach, have pursued a conduct hostile to the dearest interests of Greece, and have endeavoured to change the form of their government; "Nobody knows this better than General Roche."—Swan, vol. ii. p. 160. Ridiculous and arrogant as appears the conduct of these foreigners, it is but just to add, that they have not gone much farther than certain English Philhellenists, respecting whom Prince Mavrocordato is compelled to say, in a letter to Mr. Blaquiere:—"The conduct on the part of these gentlemen is well worthy of the liberty of which they wish to boast. Can there be a more cruel despotism, than that of a foreigner, who, without any right, wishes to command, without paying the least regard to the existing laws? Does the first comer think that he can tread us under his feet, or are we thought capable of being led by the nose by the first intriguer?"—*Blaquiere's second Visit*, p. 84.

August, and General Roche soon after left Greece for his own country.*

The Russian party appears to have now become quite extinct. Its death-blow was a semi-official note, put forth in the preceding year by the Russian cabinet, in which the idea was thrown out of forming Greece into principalities, on the same plan as the Dacian provinces; one principality to consist of Eastern Greece, (Thessaly, Bœotia, and Attica;) a second of Western Greece, (Epirus and Acarnania,) from the Austrian boundary to the Gulf of Corinth; the third of the Morea and Candia; and the islands to remain under a municipal government nearly in their former state. This middle course, it seems to have been thought, afforded the best basis for a treaty of peace between the belligerent parties, under the mediation of the Emperor. To the Greeks, however, the proposal appeared both insidious and degrading; and it had been the occasion of a spirited letter addressed by M. Rodios, secretary of the Greek Executive, to the British Government, bearing date August 12, 1824, but which did not reach this country till the following November. The letter contains the following remarkable declaration: "The Greek nation, as well as its Government, whose organ I have the honour to be, in offering their homage to his Britannic Majesty through your Excellency, solemnly declare, that they prefer a glorious death to the disgraceful lot intended to be imposed upon them." Mr. Canning's reply (dated Dec. 1, 1824,) assured the Greek Government, that Great Britain would "take no part in any attempt to impose upon Greece by force a plan for the re-establishment of peace contrary to its wishes;" and that it might depend on our continuing to observe a strict neutrality; but this was all, it was added, that could reasonably be required of the British ministers.† It was at least all that, under existing circumstances, the unhappy Greeks were warranted to expect, or that the policy of England enabled it to concede. The object of the deputation sent to England in 1825, was, therefore, to

* Modern Traveller, Part II.

† "Connected as we are with the Porte," Mr. Canning goes on to say, "by the existing friendly relations, and by ancient treaties which the Porte has not violated, it can certainly not be expected that England should commence hostilities which that power has not provoked, and take part in a contest which is not ours." Both the Letter of M. Rodios and Mr. Canning's Reply, will be found in the Annual Register for 1825, pp. 56*—60*.

consult the friends of the cause in England on the most expeditious and advantageous means of terminating the war; and to obtain the succour and support of certain well-known individuals, rather than to make a renewed application to the British Government.*

1825. To avoid an unnecessary interruption of our narrative, the state of affairs in Eastern Greece during the year 1825 has not been distinctly adverted to, as they had little influence on the course of events; but the death of Ulysses, which took place in June, and the circumstances which led to it, are of too interesting a nature to be passed over. This distinguished capitanos, the son of a Thessalian klepht, but a native of Ithaca, had been brought up by Ali Pacha of Ioannina; a bad school, in which he is said to have learned how to play the tyrant. He was among the first to join the insurgents; and from his favourite haunts among the caves of Parnassus, he harassed the Turkish armies by cutting off their supplies.† In September, 1822, at the head of about 200 palikars, he presented himself to the Athenians, who, "thinking that they had an entire right to dispose as they liked of their own citadel, re-conquered by their own exertions, resigned it, together with themselves and their property, to the ambiguous protection of Ulysses." The Government had the prudence immediately to confirm their choice, and appointed him captain-general of Eastern Greece.‡ The whole power, civil and military, legislative and executive, was thus placed in his hands, and he is said not greatly to have abused it. In imitation of his old master, he established an excellent police; and the Athenians were at least the gainers by the change which gave them a Greek, instead of a Turkish master.

Such was the man whom Col. Stanhope, mistaking the crafty robber for a philanthropic liberal,—the despot for a republican, was anxious to see placed at the head of the

* The assistance of Lord Cochrane was more especially pressed by young Miaulis.

† Hence his heroic cognomen, Ulysses.

‡ Waddington, p. 76. Demetrius Ipsilanti and Niketas had been commissioned by the Executive to take possession of Athens; but they found themselves possessed of only a nominal authority. Ulysses had been captain of Livadia, and he had acquired popularity by his military exploits.

Greek nation, and to whose malignant hatred of Mavrocordato he so imprudently lent himself.* Considering the President as the greatest obstacle to his ambitious designs,

* See Stanhope's *Greece*, pp. 125, 134, 197. "I have been constantly with Ulysses. He has a very strong mind, a good heart, and is brave as his sword; he governs with a strong arm, and is the only man in Greece that can preserve order. He is for a strong government, for constitutional rights, and for vigorous efforts against the enemy." . . . "The chief Ulysses has been a mountain robber—has refused to give up Athens to a weak government, and has lately sympathised with the people, and taken the liberal course in politics. He is a brave soldier, has great power, and promotes public liberty. Just such a man Greece requires. . . He is shrewd and ambitious, and has played the tyrant, but is now persuaded that the road to fame and wealth, is by pursuing good government. He therefore follows this course, and supports the people and the republic. Negris, who once signed his sentence of death, is now (May, 1824) his minister." "The fact is," remarks Mr. Waddington, in commenting upon these panegyrical expressions, "that Ulysses, to gain any end, will profess any principles; and as the Colonel was believed to be the dispenser of the good things collected at Missolonghi, and to possess influence over the future distribution of the loan, he was obviously a person to be gained. Behold, then, the robber, Ulysses, the descendant from a race of robbers, the favourite pupil of Ali Pacha, the soldier whose only law through life had been his sword, suddenly transformed into a liberal, philanthropic republican! It is true, indeed, that in 1821 Ulysses signed his name to a constitution dictated at Salona by Theodore Negris, in which there is one article expressly specifying a wish for a *foreign constitutional monarch*; but circumstances, I suppose, and principles, are now changed. However, it is not at last impossible, that Ulysses may be sincere in his desire that Greece should be left to govern herself. The little kingdom of Eastern Hellas suits him very well; and in the probable anarchy of the 'Hellenic Republic,' he may foresee the means of securing that independence which, in fact he possesses at present. The Central Government, probably dreading some such intention on his part, are now elevating Goura in opposition to his master. Their hopes indeed, of establishing any degree of legal authority in that province, rest a good deal on the disunion of these two chiefs."—WADDINGTON, p. 82. Colonel Stanhope writes to Mavrocordato, on one occasion: "Among these bad men, the most odious and *black-hearted* are those who are intriguing in the dark to saddle on the Greek people a foreign king." Whether the Colonel meant to *pun* on the Prince's name, or not, we learn from Mr. Blaquiere, that he meant Mavrocordato to take it to himself; for he had accused him of intriguing in concert with the metropolitan Ignatius for that purpose.—This cool insult, the Prince rebuts with equal dignity and temper. "I have nothing to appropriate to myself of all that he writes. If he is attached to our constitution, I think that he whose boast it is to have contributed to its formation ought to be much more so than any other. I know (and have even all the documents in my hand) that M. Negris ad-

Ulysses, in common with Colocotroni, always singled him out as the especial object of his jealousy and hatred, never speaking of him without contempt; and in their English friends, they found persons too willing to assist in propagating their calumnies both in Greece and in England.—The breach which might possibly have been healed between the contending parties, was thus irremediably widened. The fall of Mavrocordato was the favourite object of the military party; and on their accession to power, it has been seen he was compelled to take refuge in Hydra. Ulysses is represented as having, in 1824, offered to mediate between the Colocotroni party and the Constitutional Government at Argos; and the surrender of Napoli is ascribed by Capt. Humphreys to his interference.* It seems to have been his object at that time, to secure his share of the loan, his soldiers being, according to his own account, in long arrears of pay. By Conduriotti, then President, he was well received; but by the other members of the Government, he was viewed with a distrust which was not lessened by his requiring a body-guard of ten followers. This was very properly ob-

addressed, more than eighteen months ago, circulars in favour of a monarchical government, of which the ex-king of Westphalia, Jerome, was to be the head; and I also know that I was the first to combat his opinion. Can this M. Negris be the *bad man* of Col. Stanhope? I know positively also, that under the shadow of the constitution, several captains do that which the greatest despots in the world would not, perhaps, do; that they break legs and arms, and leave in this state of dreadful torture, innocent men to perish; that they kill, that they hang, that they destroy men without previous trial; that they revolt; that they even betray their country. Can these be the Colonel's *good men*? These latter I have always opposed, even at the peril of my life."—*Blaquiere's Second Visit*, p. 83. That this is no libel on Ulysses, may be inferred from Mr. Waddington's brief description. "Ulysses is in no respect distinguished from his meanest soldier, otherwise than by the symmetry of his form, and the expressive animation of a countenance which, though handsome, is far from prepossessing; for an habitual frown, and a keen and restless eye, betoken cruelty, suspiciousness, and inconstancy; and those who have derived their opinion of his character from the observation of his exterior, and the rumour of his most notorious actions, pronounce him to be violent, avaricious, vindictive, distrustful, inexorable. Those, on the other hand, who believe themselves to have penetrated more deeply into his feelings and principles, consider him to be under the exclusive guidance of policy and interest."

* Humphreys, p. 322. This gentleman represents Coletti to have been the implacable enemy of his friend Ulysses, who is stated to have been nevertheless at this time determined to support the Government.

jected to, but no open rupture took place. There was even a talk of nominating him to the command of the forces opposed to Dervish Pacha ; but this nomination being delayed, and his demands refused, he took offence, and, accompanied by the Englishman Trelawney, who had married his sister, and by General Karaiskaki, quitted Napoli in disgust.*—Soon after, learning that Goura, formerly his lieutenant, had been nominated to replace him in the command of Athens, he disbanded his soldiers, and retired to his fortified cave at Parnassus. This strong hold he had lately prepared, in case of being reduced to extremities. It was a natural excavation, capable of accommodating 2000 persons, and containing a spring of fresh water. It could be reached only by ascending a perpendicular cliff a hundred feet in height, which was accomplished by means of three ladders, successively drawn up after passing them ; a number of descents and windings then conducted from the small platform to the interior. Here Ulysses had placed a few pieces of cannon, a supply of small arms, and ammunition and provisions sufficient for a ten years' siege ; and hither he removed his family and his treasures, determining to separate himself entirely from the Greeks and their cause, and to make his own terms with their enemies. The sequel, we give in the words of Mr. Emerson :†

“ The Pacha of Negropont had been one of his early friends, and he now renewed the acquaintance for the purpose of answering his own views : what those were have never been understood clearly ; but his means of accomplishing them were, at least, extremely liable to suspicion. Frequent letters, and, at length, frequent conferences, of all which the Government had due notice, passed between him and the Pacha. The object of Ulysses is stated to have been the possession of Negropont ; it is at least evident, as well from his former conduct, as from his treating with an in-

* Humphreys, pp. 260—262. Capt. Humphreys states, that Ulysses was offered a command at Hydra, and refused it, as placing him too much in the power or at the disposal of the Government. The distrust was therefore mutual. Previously to his leaving Napoli, he is said to have been shot at when sitting at a window in the house of Niketas. This circumstance, if authenticated, would amply justify his “ disgust,” but it requires to be substantiated. Negris, whom he left behind at Napoli, died there after a short illness.

† Modern Traveller.

ferior, that he had no intention of attaching himself to the party of the Sultan. Be it as it may, he was now declared a traitor by the Government. Unable, or perhaps too haughty to give an explanation of his motives to his personal enemies, he prepared to meet force by force. Goura, his own captain, and a wretch who had owed his fortune to Ulysses, was placed at the head of the forces in Attica, to blockade the cave, and reduce him to allegiance. Ulysses immediately assembled his followers, but never on any occasion accepted of the assistance of the Turks. Some slight skirmishes had already taken place ; but as the soldiers of Ulysses were daily deserting, as well from an unwillingness to fight against their countrymen and government, as from being allured by the threats and promises of Goura, he was beginning to feel himself somewhat straitened ; and gradually retreating towards the country north of Eubœa, he continued to hold out against his pursuers, whilst the cave was left in charge of his family and a proper garrison."

" This was in March, 1825. Towards the close of April, deserted by his followers, Ulysses had retreated, with a very few attendants, to a monastery in the vicinity of Talanda, which Goura proceeded to blockade. Suddenly, it is said, on condition of being brought to trial, he came unattended, and surrendered himself to Goura, by whom he was sent prisoner to the Acropolis at Athens, the scene of his former power. Here he was confined in the lofty Venetian tower, where he lay, till the 5th of June, when his death took place under somewhat mysterious circumstances. The story circulated was, that in attempting to make his escape, the rope by which he was lowering himself broke, and he was dashed to pieces on the pavement at the base of the tower. Mr. Emerson inclines to believe that he was secretly put to death by order of the Government, but he gives no valid reason for fastening so black a charge on the Executive. If he fell by unfair means, the character of Goura would not be wronged by the supposition that his jealousy and his fears might conspire to prompt him to an act by which he would get rid of the man he had treated with such ingratitude and baseness. And Mr. Swan states, that it was reported to be the case ; that Goura let down the rope before the window of his prison, and that Ulysses supposing it to have been furnished by his friends without, fell into the snare.*

* The official account, which is perfectly distinct and consistent,

1826. In the mean time, the cave of Ulysses in mount Parnassus, which was left under command of Trelawney, was closely blockaded, and every attempt was made to gain possession. Ulysses had been himself escorted to the spot, and forced to sign a summons to Trelawney to surrender, which was not complied with.* Among the inmates of the cavern was a Captain Fenton, a native of Scotland, who had arrived a mere adventurer in Greece the preceding winter, and during his intercourse with the European residents in the Morea, had proved himself to be divested of every principle or feeling of a gentleman. He had even stooped so low, Mr. Emerson states, as to offer his services to a person in power as the assassin of Ulysses, for the remuneration of a few dollars. This proposal, so far from being accepted, led to his being ordered to leave Napoli,† on which

is given by Mr. Swan (vol. ii. p. 95,) together with the affidavit of the physician. Mr. Emerson supposes the story to have been "feigned by the government, to cover their own imbecility, in not daring openly to condemn or bring to trial a man whom they still dreaded, and of whose guilt they were unable to produce convicting proofs." What other proofs could be requisite than his having advanced on Athens, at the head of a body of Turkish cavalry, and openly warred against the Government?—See *Humphrey's Journal*, p. 292.

* Trelawney, Capt. Humphreys says, "had greatly determined Ulysses to leave the Turks, and proposed to him to quit Greece entirely for a time, and go to America; he could not, therefore, in honour, betray the trust reposed in him."

† Mr. Emerson does not name the person; he asserts, however, "that the proposal was accepted, but a disagreement in the terms, or some other circumstance, had prevented its execution." From whom did he learn this? From Fenton or from Jarvis?—Capt. Humphreys' attempts to fasten the atrocious calumny on Mavrocordato. "Whoever," he says, "first made this infamous proposal, an argument used by Mavrocordato, was, that Trelawney, as a native of Great Britain, being in the service of the Greeks, was out of the pale of his country's laws; and an American of the name of Jarvis, now a Greek lieutenant-general, was Mavrocordato's agent in the affair, and negotiated between them." This Jarvis (or Gervase,) who is the same that headed the garrison at Neo-castro, has admitted that he was the person who introduced Fenton to the Prince, but states, that "he discontinued his acquaintance on Fenton's intimating a design to murder his friend, the man upon whom he was dependant, and with whom he lived on the strictest terms of intimacy." "He regrets," adds Mr. Swan, "as well he may, having had the least acquaintance with him."—*Journal*, vol. ii. p. 102.—Here is not a word of any proposal made to Mavrocordato; nor is it credible that Fenton should have been expelled from Napoli by the Government, if such a proposal had been for a moment listened

he determined on joining the party of the man he had offered to assassinate, and to whom his quarrel with the Government was a sufficient recommendation. He was accordingly received among the inmates of the cave, where he remained after the surrender of Ulysses, as the dependant rather than the companion of Trelawney; till on the death of the chieftain, he formed the atrocious resolution of making himself master of the cave and its contents, which, by previous contract, were now the property of his benefactor. A few days before he made the attempt, the cave was visited by a young English gentleman named Whitcombe, whom Fenton succeeded in persuading to become his accomplice. The plan was, that they should fire at a target, while their host and benefactor stood umpire; and while Trelawney, unsuspectingly advanced to examine the first shots, the conspirators both made the attempt at the same moment. Fenton's pistol missed fire; but Whitcombe's took effect with two balls, and Trelawney fell, desperately, though not fatally wounded. His attendants, rushing forward, poinarded Fenton on the spot, while his confederate was secured in irons. Trelawney's recovery was long doubtful, but at length he was able to leave the cave, together with his wife, Goura having consented to grant them an escort, and in September, they embarked for the Ionian Isles. Before his departure, he generously gave Whitcombe his liberty, letting him loose again on society, in consideration of his youth (scarcely nineteen) and the respectability of his family.* The cave remained in possession of the widow of Ulysses and her adherents. We now resume the events of the war.

to. Whitcombe, however, in an intercepted letter to this same Capt. Humphreys, after accusing him of deserting one whom he called his friend, charges him in the plainest terms with being himself accessory to the intended murder of Trelawney. Possibly, he had been told this by Fenton, who perhaps told Humphreys that he was engaged by Mavrocordato. Humphreys, however, by his own confession, knew, while he was with Ulysses, that Fenton was carrying on the intrigue,—“under the pretence to us,” he says, “whether true or false, of entrapping Mavrocordato.” This privity must certainly tend to vitiate his evidence. Yet, before he left Greece, he had the temerity to write a virulent letter to Mavrocordato, accusing him of keeping in pay assassins.—*Humphreys*, p. 330. *Swan*, vol. ii. p. 100.

* Mr. Whitcombe has returned to Hydra, very little sensible, as it seems, of the heinousness of his conduct. He is said to be an extremely weak young fellow, full of daring and romance, and desirous of aping the extravagant conduct of Hope's Anastasius.—*Swan*, vol. ii. p. 187.

The military events in Eastern Greece were of slight importance, the Seraskier having found it necessary to recall into Thessaly the troops that had entered Bœotia, for the purpose of supporting the operation of the Pacha of Egripo, in order to direct all his means to the protection of his position before Missolonghi.

To return to the Morea. Having failed in surprising Napoli, the object next in importance, to which Ibrahim Pacha turned his attention, was to open a passage to Patras; but the mountainous districts of Arcadia and Achaia, which intervene between that city and the plains of Mantinea and Argos, are exactly suited to such troops as the Armatoli, and Demetrius Ipsilanti was able effectually to bar his further progress in that direction. On the 10th of August, an engagement took place between a body of Egyptian troops advancing from Megalopolis and the Greeks posted near Phigalia, in which the former were repulsed with the loss of 250 killed and thirty prisoners, among whom was Deri Bey, their captain, who died of his wounds; the Greeks, firing from behind their tambours, had only three killed and five wounded. In a subsequent engagement, Ibrahim Pacha is stated to have been defeated in person by the united forces of Ipsilanti, Colocotroni, and Coliopulo; his Moorish regulars having fled before the well-aimed fire of the Greeks, threw the whole army into disorder, and 300 were left dead on the field. At length, Tripolizza became an insecure position, and after the retreat of the Ottoman fleet from before Missolonghi, Ibrahim Pacha retreated with all his forces to Calamata, there to await reinforcements and supplies. Symptoms of the plague at Modon prevented his retiring on that place.

By a show of clemency at the opening of the campaign, and the merciful observance of his treaties at Navarino and Neo-castro, Ibrahim had expected to carry all before him. Proclamations of mercy and conciliation were made in his march to Tripolizza, at every village; but the inhabitants, too well instructed by experience, invariably fled to the mountains at his approach.

Disappointment and rage now led him to throw off the mask. Every deserted village was reduced to ashes as he passed, every unfortunate straggler that fell into his hands was unrelentingly butchered: and he openly declared that

he would burn and lay waste the whole Morea.* “Thus,” remarks Colonel Leake, “was annihilated in a few weeks, that slight improvement which had been produced by a three year’s exemption from the blighting presence of the Mussulmans ; during which an increase of inhabitants, seeking refuge from other parts of Greece, together with the confidence inspired by a government which, however imperfect,

* The Rev. Mr. Swan in September (1825,) accompanied Captain Hamilton in a visit to Ibrahim Pacha, at Mistra, for the purpose of negotiating a change of prisoners. His person is thus described : “The Pacha is a stout, broad, brown faced, vulgar-looking man, thirty-five or forty years of age, strongly marked with the small-pox ; his countenance possesses little to engage, but, when he speaks, which he does with considerable ease and fluency, it becomes animated and rather striking. He frequently accompanies his words with a long drawling cry, which to European ears sounds ridiculously enough. His manner carries with it a sort of decision which is the common appendage of despotism. Deprived of this, he would resemble an uneducated, hard-favoured seaman of our own country. He was plainly clothed for a Turk ; and his camp establishment altogether, had none of that parade and luxury which we are accustomed to attach to eastern warfare.” The Pacha professed his high regard for the English nation, and was at once most polite, wily, and evasive. “Speaking of the Morea,” continues Mr Swan, “although he regretted the necessity of his present proceedings, yet it was his intention to pursue them to the utmost. He would burn and destroy the whole Morea ; so that it should neither be profitable to the Greeks, nor to him, nor to any one. What would these infatuated men, the dupes of their own imbecile government, do for provisions in the winter ? He knew that his own soldiers would also suffer—that they too must perish. But his father Mehemet Ali was training forty thousand men, and he was in daily expectation of a reinforcement of twelve thousand. If these were cut off, he would have more, and he would persevere till the Greeks returned to their former state. One of the castles on the plain, he said, had just been carried by assault, and the garrison all put to the sword ; the other was expected to fall immediately. He repeated, ‘I will not cease till the Morea be a ruin.’ The Sultan has already conferred upon him the title and insignia of a Pacha of this unhappy land ; and, said his highness, ‘If the good people of England, who are so fond of sending money to the Greeks, would send it directly to me, it would save them considerable trouble : eventually, it all comes to my treasury.’” Sulie-man Bey is thus described : “He looks exactly like an ostler turned bandit : a striking vulgar face, marked with the small-pox, (as if in sympathy with his master !) is set off by small light-blue eyes, light hair, and a flat nose. This person was raised from the ranks by Bonaparte, and became aid-de-camp to General Ney, for attempting to effect whose escape he was outlawed. He then served in the corps of the Mamelukes, which he organized ; and, finally, abandoning his religion for the polluted and degrading faith of the Crescent, he became Sulie-man Bey, the associate, friend, and general of Ibrahim Pacha.”—*SWAN’S Journal, vol. ii. pp. 237, 246.*

had been sufficiently composed of right materials to produce some beneficial reforms, promised in a short time to effect a favourable change in the whole peninsula. Schools of mutual instruction and other places of education had been established in several towns; and no sooner had the government obtained the power of taking the collection of the revenue out of the hands of the old primates and captains of Armatoli, than the national domains, formed of the confiscated Turkish property, were let for double the sum that had been given for them the preceding year.”*

From September to November, Ibrahim Pacha remained quite inactive, but continued his station at Modon. On the 10th of November the long expected fleet from Alexandria reached Modon and Navarino in safety, and began immediately to disembark troops, stores, ammunition, and provisions. This formidable armament was composed of the Egyptian and Turkish fleets combined, and consisted of one hundred and thirty sail of vessels, of which ninety hoisted pendants. In this number are included ten fire-ships and one steam vessel; the rest were transports, among which were a few European vessels. The steam vessel was purchased by the Viceroy of Egypt, and was formerly the London Engineer, Margate Packet. This is the fifth time, remarks Mr. Green, that the Egyptian fleet has safely disembarked troops in the Morea, since February of this year.

After the landing was effected at Modon and Navarino, the Capudan Pacha, commander of the Turkish fleet, proceeded with 60 sail of vessels to Patras, where he was joined by the Egyptian squadron towards the end of November. Here the remainder of the troops and stores were landed. The whole number of troops brought by the Egyptian fleet was 12,000 infantry, and about 1200 cavalry, chiefly disciplined Arabs.

On the 22d instant the Greek fleet was seen steering towards Patras, and on the 25th, the Turkish squadron stood out of the Gulf of Lepanto, and attacked the Greeks. But it being almost an entire calm, little damage was done on either side. On the 27th another partial engagement took place, but the Turks being largely reinforced, the Greeks thought it most prudent to retire.

Meanwhile, Ibrahim Pacha having completed his arrangements at Navarino, set out from that place with 4000 men, and arrived in the vicinity of Gastouni on the 27th, having

* Modern Traveller, Part ii. p. 228—256

burned the villages, killed the inhabitants, and devastated the country through which he passed. About the same time Isouf Pacha arrived in the neighbourhood of the same place from Patras, having under his command a body of cavalry. The town being unfortified, could offer no resistance, and was accordingly taken possession of by the Turks and Arabs. Most of the inhabitants had made their escape when these infidels arrived, but such as were found were as usual cut in pieces.

The garrison at Missolonghi continued to hold out at this time, although the place was nearly untenable from the depth of mud and filth. It was still invested by the forces of the Seraskier, but they had of late made no assault, owing probably to the heroic defence which had been made on former occasions.

The Greek squadron, after the partial engagement mentioned above, having received neither reinforcements, nor supplies, returned to the Archipelago in the beginning of December. Meanwhile, the Turkish vessels were constantly cruising between Zante and Missolonghi, keeping a strict blockade on the latter place.

The division under Ibrahim Pacha proceeded from Gastouni to Patras, from which place he sent the Lallots, who were without a home, to Gastouni, which town they now occupy as their own. Ibrahim, it was understood, at this time, had the most positive orders to proceed against Missolonghi, and as a preparatory measure had transported his army to Crio Nero, a plain situated between two mountains about twelve miles from the former place. Here he formed his camp, and landed guns and ammunition, and provisions for the intended siege. The Seraskier still maintained his position before Missolonghi, with only 3000 men, his Albanians having most of them deserted him.*

Great preparations were made, particularly on the side of the Turks, for the next campaign. The army of disciplined Arabs, while they are expected to give great efficiency to the Turkish forces, are calculated, by their hardihood, courage, and cruelty, to intimidate the Greeks. By sea, it is certain that the infidels have not yet obtained any signal advantage over the Greeks—and by land, it is also true that at the time of which we are writing the Greek troops are fully equal, man to man, to their enemies.

*Green's Sketches; pp. 126—133.

CHAP. XXII.

Commerce of Greece, and its productions—The Morea, its currants, figs, wine, silk-worms and forests—Population of Greece—Character of its inhabitants—Albanians, their bravery—Messenians, their debasement, sloth and indolence. Lalliots and Mainotes—The latter, descendants of the Spartans—Anecdote of two Mainotes—Their want of faith.—Hydriots and Spezziots, their character and superstition—Roumeliotes—Albanian dress—Names of the Greeks—Ladies; their costume, appearance, manners and treatment—Religion—Greek priests, many of them became Military Chiefs—Greeks want a reform in their servants of religion. Lent, the manner in which it is kept—Education; Common Schools—Greek Literature—Periodical Papers—Army, how furnished and equipped—Mode of warfare—Want of a competent military Commander—Ultimate success of the Revolution—Fleet, and fire-ships—Want of reform in the Navy.

THE following observations on the commerce, situation and population of Greece, together with remarks on the manners and customs of her inhabitants, was written 1825. by Mr. Emerson towards the close of the fifth campaign, in which order of time, they are here inserted. The thread of history will again be assumed at the commencement of the sixth campaign.

“With respect to the commerce of Greece,” says Mr. Emerson, “its exports, and foreign trade, little can be stated at present; the extreme confusion attendant on so general an overthrow of the lately existing Government having, in fact, almost totally suspended it. The destruction of agricultural industry has put an end to the former exportation of grain, and the repeated levies for the army necessarily curtail the number of artizans employed in the cultivation and care of silkworms and cotton. Taking each portion individually, indeed, Greece can never be said to have possessed any extensive commerce, north of the Isthmus; the inhabitants being of too martial a cast to attend much to agriculture or industry. The exports of Livadia and Western Greece were consequently only a few raw hides, wool, cotton goods, and a small quantity of corn; whilst in Attica the pastoral traffic

only consisted in wine, oil, and honey. But since the opening of the insurrection, the distinguished share which Missolonghi has taken in the revolution, has completely destroyed what little share of commerce Livadia possessed; whilst in Attica the convulsions of war have so much engaged the attention of the peasantry, that little more wine is manufactured than is sufficient for the consumption of Athens and the adjoining districts. Its olive-groves and vineyards have been injured by the frequent incursions of the enemy, so as to curtail the quantity of oil, and the honey, being no longer brought down from Hymettus by the Calogeis, the exports of the Piræus consists almost solely of the fruit and vegetables which are shipped for Hydra, Spezzia, and the neighbouring districts of the Morea. In point of commerce, however, the Peloponnesus has always taken the lead of the northern provinces, perhaps from the greater number of commodious harbours which lie around its coasts. The more peaceable character of its inhabitants has likewise given them a stronger bias for industry and agriculture; and the various productions which constitute the riches of Northern Greece, have found an equally congenial soil in the Morea; though here too, the influence of war has driven off the peaceful followers of commerce, and her operations are for the moment suspended. It may, perhaps, be interesting to know the particular produce of the Peninsula, which will, I trust, one day, be more fully, and more advantageously cultivated than heretofore.

The wheat of the Morea has long been highly prized in the adjoining islands, and its culture in consequence is proportionally extensive. Its barley, however, is not so much esteemed, and its growth of Indian corn has never been exported. The Peninsula is by no means a country for wine, the greater portion of its consumption being imported from the Archipelago; two species, however, are admired by the Greeks,—the wine of Mistra, and that of Saint George, in Corinth, though both are of only a light body, and possess a disagreeable flavour, from the turpentine with which they are purified. The grapes are neither large nor finely flavoured; the best being produced at Gastouni; one species, however, the "*raisin de Corinthe*," is extensively cultivated of late, along the shores of the gulfs of Lepanto and Salamis; where it has usurped the fields formerly employed in the raising of tobacco. Of its dried fruit, immense quantities were formerly exported under the name of Zante currants; and a *remnant of this* may be said to be the only trade at pre-

sent remaining in Greece. At the time I left Zante, an English vessel, the *Levant Star*, of Liverpool, was loading currants at Vostizza, where agents are annually sent from the Ionian Islands to purchase the fruit from the Greeks, it being delivered to foreign vessels with no other restriction than a small tribute paid by each ship which enters the Gulf to the Pacha of Patras.

Other fruits are likewise produced in abundance ; lemons, though not large, nor peculiarly fine ; oranges, the best of which are found at Calamata ; peaches, pomegranates, apricots, almonds, and a variety of shell-fruit. The figs, especially those of Maina, are remarkable for their sweetness, owing to the attention paid here, as well as throughout the Archipelago in general, to the process of caprification.—Household vegetables are produced in abundance ; the markets of Napoli di Romania, being plentifully supplied with cucumbers, *pommes d'amour*, spinnage, asparagus, and every other species in the season. Olives are found in the greatest abundance in every district, but especially in Maina and Argolis ; and though very little care is taken of them, the quantity of oil produced was formerly immense. Almost every quarter, even the wildest and most uncultivated, is covered with beds of thyme, fennel, and mint, so that materials for honey are exhaustless. Neither in quantity or quality, however, is it so good as that of Attica ; in fact, the honey of the Morea is medicinal in its properties, and requires to be used with caution. Of the wax, large quantities are still exported from Napoli di Romania to Syra, but always in an unbleached state. Manna, likewise, and indigo, were formerly cultivated ; but they are now neglected, as well as the gathering of galls, which used to be found in astonishing perfection in every forest. The tending of silkworms, though practised extensively, was not attended with the usual success. A mortality being incident to the worms during the spring, the Greeks, instead of ascertaining a remedy for it, attributed it to witchcraft, and left it to take its course ; so that the produce of 100 lbs. of cocoons, seldom averaged more than 8 lbs. of silk. Cotton was never grown in large quantities, but its quality was remarkably white and delicate ; and the culture of flax was but little known. The immense flocks of Argolis, Messenia, and the valleys of Arcadia, furnish a proportionate quantity of wool ; the exportation of which to the Ionian Islands, together with the sheep themselves, and a little wine, constitutes the only remaining

remnant of the once extensive trade of Pyrgos. The forests of the Morea are, in some districts, extremely extensive, especially on the coast of Ellis, and the western shores of the Morea ; which have long furnished oak and pines for the construction of the Hydriote vessels, and large quantities of vallonias for exportation to Zante and Malta.

Such is the chief part of the produce of this rich and romantic country, which even during the most prosperous days of fallen Greece, during the reign of the Venetians, was not by any means cultivated to its full extent ; and which, even in the later days of her slavery, has proved mines of wealth to her Ottoman lords. If, in addition to these, we add, that neither her mines nor minerals have ever yet been even attempted to be explored, though every rock and mountain-stream bears ample testimony to their presence, and that her climate is one of the purest in Europe, there is, surely, no spot, that at present, holds out greater inducements for enterprise or commercial speculation. In fact, several English merchants have already determined on opening houses of trade in the Morea, as soon as the cessation of the war, and the establishment of the Government, give a security to commerce. Patras, from its vicinity to the Ionian Islands, and Livadia, as well as to the currant district, holds out numerous inducements to European settlers. Navarino, from its superior harbour, is talked of, as the future residence of the enterprising Hydriots. Napoli di Romania, as the seat of government, will always attract a share of foreign notice, and the Piræus is to be assigned to the ill-fated Ipsariots, where the management of the commerce and exports of Attica may again enrich them. So that, should the war terminate favourably ; which there is yet reason to hope, in spite of the misfortunes of the present campaign, there is every prospect of wealth keeping pace with the progress of liberty and intellectual improvement, and of Greece again resuming her seat amongst the nations of Europe, their peer in internal resources, freedom and refinement.

Of the exact amount of the population, no accurate statement has ever, I believe, been made. It has been estimated at different times, from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 ; but whether this be correct, or whether it do not include the supposed Greek population in the Crimea, Palestine, Russia, and other parts of Europe, I cannot tell. Of the national character so much has already been written, that little remains to be told. The general impression is undoubtedly bad, and seems

to be countenanced by the circumstance of their most violent detractors being those who have lived longest in close connection with them in Greece, the Ionian Republic, and Smyrna. For my part, I speak as I have found them ; during my residence amongst them, I never met with an insult or an injury from a Greek. I have travelled unmolested, through the wildest parts of their country, without a guard ; and with a quantity of luggage, which in Southern Italy, or even in more civilized states, could scarcely have escaped pillage. I have never asked a favour of a Greek that has not been obligingly granted : in numerous instances I have met with extreme civility, kindness, and hospitality. Others, it is true, may have been less fortunate ; but when they state the Greeks to be constitutionally unmindful of kindnesses, I ask for what have they been taught to be grateful ? If they are eager for gain, it is a necessary attendant on poverty ; if they are cunning, their duplicity must be the offspring of a long slavery, under which every pretext was necessary for the protection of their property from the ravages of their despots ; if they are depraved and savage, it is the effect of a barbarous education ; if cruel and ferocious in their warfare, it is only against their enemies and tyrants, and merely the natural yearnings of the heart after vengeance, for a series of crimes, injuries, and oppressions. Let us only calmly contemplate for a moment, the long course of slavery from which they are just emerging ; where under the most galling despotism, their lives and properties seemed but held in tenure for their tyrants, before whose nod every virtue was made to bend ; and where their families and children seem merely born as subjects for the lust of their barbarous masters. Let us compare all that has been urged to the disadvantages of the miserable Greeks, with the causes that have produced their degradation ; and the result must be, not hatred and abuse, but pity, mingled with astonishment that they are not a thousand-fold more perverted than we find them. Far, however, from coinciding with this sweeping condemnation of the race, *en masse*, I will maintain that, on the examination of the traits of character peculiar to each district, we shall find the seeds of numerous virtues, however slightly developed, still discernable under the mass of vices ; and which, when properly cultivated, under an equitable government, cannot fail to raise the Greeks high in the scale of nations.

By their Southern neighbours, the Albanians have long ceased to be considered either Mussulmans or Greeks ; their

mission to Mahomet the Second, and subsequent embracing of Islamism, would naturally stamp them the former, whilst their country and warlike habits bear no resemblance to the luxurious, sedentary habits of the Turk. They may, in fact, be considered as the connecting link of the two religions, imbued with all the treachery and duplicity of the followers of Mahomet, but still retaining the spirit of hospitality, bravery, and minor virtues of the Greeks. To those succeed the Roumeliots, the inhabitants of what is now termed Eastern and Western Greece, comprising Attica, Livadia, and the territory South of Epirus and Thessaly: still mindful of their contests for freedom and religion, under their immortal Scanderbeg, they cling closely to that faith for which their fathers bled. And, though subject to the galling yoke of the Ottoman, they have still enjoyed a comparative freedom, amidst their rocks and mountains; nor have they ever submitted to enslave their souls, by a base concession to his creed. Brave, open-hearted, and sincere, their valour is the slightest recommendation; and the traveller who has claimed their hospitality, or the wretch who has thrown himself on their protection, has ever met with succour and security beneath the arm of the Roumeliot Klefti.

In the Morea, a closer connection with the Turks, and various minor causes, have produced a character less amiable and exalted. The greater weight of their chains has rendered them crouching and servile; and no where are the traces of slavery more visible, or more disgusting, than in the cringing, treacherous, low-spirited Moreot; who is, nevertheless, not totally divested of affection, gratitude, and a hospitable wish to share his mat and humble meal with the stranger. In the Messenians, or natives of the South-western coast, the traits of debasement are peculiarly perceptible. It would appear that, from the earliest period, these unfortunate people had been doomed to be the scape-goats of the Peloponnesus, formerly ravaged by the Lacedæmonians. They have, in later times, fled to the mountains of Sparta, for protection from the Turks. Slothful and indolent by nature, they treat their wives with a want of feeling unequalled in Greece: and whilst the sluggish master squats at his ease, to smoke his pipe and sip his coffee, the unfortunate females perform all the drudgery of agriculture, and all the weightier domestic duties. Two singular exceptions are, however, to be found in the Morea; the inhabitants of the district of Lalla, in Elis, and those of Maina,

in the South-eastern promontory. The former are a colony of the Schypetan, or bandit of peasantry, of Albania ; who, for many ages, have been settled in this spot, and, during the reign of the Venetians, rendered them important service against the Turks : but in general were as prejudicial to the Greeks as the Mussulmans. After the failure of the Russian expedition in 1770, they were joined by a fresh party of their countrymen, who had likewise abjured Mahomedanism ; and, though they turned their attention, in some degree to agriculture, were principally maintained by their ravages on the properties and crops of their neighbours ; with whom, they never mingled, either in marriage, or even common interest. Thus, to the present hour, they have lived a pure Albanian colony in the very heart of the Morea ; retaining all the ferocity and predatory habits of their forefathers, and a valour, which has been often conspicuously proved in the scenes of the present revolution.

Of the Mainotes, the descendants of the ancient Spartans, much has been written, and yet but little is known ; the difficulty of penetrating into a country inhabited by a bandit peasantry, pirates by profession, has opposed an insuperable bar to the investigation of the travellers. Those, however, who have succeeded in becoming acquainted with their habits, represent them as possessed of the common virtue of barbarians—hospitality, and an unconquered bravery ; but disgraced by numerous vices, and all, without exception, robbers by sea or land. The portrait drawn of them by Mons. Poqueville, represents them in the very worst point of view ; not even giving them full credit for their courage : but it is most likely overcharged, and more the estimate of reports than the fruits of experience. Of their piracies, and the bravery displayed in the pursuits of plunder, every one has heard ; but in this, their duplicity equalled their courage. All were engaged alike, in every expedition ; even the women bore their share of the toil, and every boat received the benediction, or was honoured by the presence of a priest. Yet, even here, their faith was not honourably preserved ;* and, it was no unusual thing to force the absolu-

* Of their internal disputes, the following story is still related in the islands.—Two Mainotes, who had long shared, in common, the produce of their plunderings, chanced at length to quarrel about the division of the booty of a Venetian brig. Burning with resentment, both dreamed but of mutual vengeance ; and one, (Theodore) seizing on the wife of his companion, (Anapleotla,) carried her on

tion of their priests, after sacking and dividing the plunder of their monasteries. The piracies of the Mainotes have not, however, always passed with impunity ; and the events of the two expeditions of the celebrated Hassan Pacha against them, in 1779 and the subsequent year, are well known. Even *his* conquests, however, though aided by internal treachery, did not extend over the entire district of Maina ; and its inhabitants, to this day, are fond of boasting that their territory has never fallen beneath the arms of any conqueror.

Among the higher orders of Hydriots and Spezziots, I have always found much to admire and esteem ; but of the lower classes I have formed by no means so favourable an opinion. The other inhabitants of the Archipelago present different traits of character in almost every island, as they have come more or less in contact with the Turks or Europeans ; but in general they present the same peculiarities which every where form the leading features of the Greek character—lightness, versatility, great natural talent, many virtues, and all the numerous vices inseparably attendant on despotism and oppression. Like the inhabitants of other mountainous countries, they are strongly imbued with superstition, which the lapse of time seems rather to have augmented than diminished : they believe in the appearance of disembodied spirits, the influence of good and evil genii, the protection of saints, the existence of sacrifices, the power of sorcery, and the predictions of dreams. Every disease in their opinion has its origin in some incantation or malign influence, and consequently, its corresponding charm

board a Maltese corsair, stationed in the bay, for the purpose of selling her, to make up his defective share of the plunder. The Maltese, after long intreaty on the part of the Greek, refused to purchase her at so high a price ; as, he said, that he had just procured another at a much cheaper rate ; whom, at the request of Theodore, he produced for his inspection. She was brought forward, and, to the confusion of the Mainote, proved to be his own wife, his accomplice having anticipated him, and disposed of his spouse two hours before. He, however, concealed his chagrin, and gave Anapleottis' wife for the proffered price of the Maltese, and returned on shore ; where he met his quondam ally, apprised him of his loss, and thirsting for vengeance. The worthy friends were not long, however, in coming to an understanding. Without arousing suspicion, they went together on board the Maltese, and, without much ceremony, forced him to restore the wives of both. This complied with, and, satisfied with their mutual revenge, which had proved a mutual gain, they again returned ; and as firmly united as ever, continued, in common their former desperate calling.

and efficacious ceremony ; though in the meantime, of the usual deference paid to physicians throughout the East, the Greeks are by no means deficient. A few of them, natives of the country, have received their education in France and Italy ; but far the greater number are practitioners from experience. One of the latter, a Cretan, who resided in high estimation at Hydra, being asked where he had studied, replied, that in fact he had always been too poor to study ; that what he knew, he had acquired by practice, and that, by the help of the Virgin, he was in general pretty fortunate in his cases. In the dress, manners, and conversation of the Greeks, perhaps the strongest feature is ostentation and a pride of their descent. Lord Byron instances the boatmen at Salamis, who spoke of " our fleet being anchored in the gulf," in pointing out the scene of the Persian overthrow. I have frequently been reminded by Mainotes and Messenians, that they were the children of Leonidas and Nestor ; and the sister of a schoolmaster at Hydra, who had lost her husband in the present war, in speaking of his birth-place being in Macedonia, could not refrain from mentioning that she was a countrywoman of Alexander. The appearance of the male portion of the population is interesting and striking, but varies in the different districts. The Roumeliots are tall, athletic, and well-formed, with rather a Roman cast of countenance ; the Moreotes, low, clumsy, and ill-proportioned ; the Hydriots in general inherit the characteristic of their forefathers ; and the islanders are always smart, active, and lightly formed : all have sparkling eyes, remarkably white teeth, and jetty black and curling hair. In the islands their dress is in general either the Frank or Hydriot ; and on the continent it is always, with little variation, the Albanian. A red cloth scalpæ or skullcap, ornamented with a blue tassel, and sometimes girt with a turban, forms their head-dress, from under which their long hair falls over their neck and shoulders ; a vest and jacket of cloth or velvet, richly embroidered, and cut so as to leave the neck bare ; a white kilt or juctanella, reaching to the knee, beneath which they wear a pair of cotton trowsers, of the same fashion and materials as the jacket ; shoes of red leather, and a belt containing a pair of superbly embossed pistols, and an ataghan (a crooked weapon, serving at once for a sabre and dagger,) completes the costume : over this they throw the white, shaggy capots of the Albanians, which likewise serves them for a bed during

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the night. The strictness of the Turkish law forbade the Greeks to wear gold or gaudy colours in their dress ; and this long fast from finery must needs account for the extraordinary richness of their present costume ; on which the lacing and ornaments, in many instances, like Peter's coat, concealed the colour of the cloth. A dress of the first quality, without the arms, cannot cost less than 2,500 piastres :* and, with all its costly appurtenances, frequently doubles that sum. The expense to which they go in the purchasing of pistols and ataghans, is at once ridiculous and hurtful ; the sight of a richly dressed Greek being necessarily a strong stimulus to the courage of an impoverished Mussulman. All this profusion, too, is practised whilst the Greeks are exclaiming against their poverty, and complaining that they have not means to prosecute the war ; and yet the worst armed soldiers must pay, at least, two or three hundred piastres for his outfit ; and the more extravagant, at least, as many thousands,—not for the excellence of the pistol, but the richness of its handle. The names of the Greeks are various, according to the taste or superstition of their parents : the greater part bear those of their most distinguished ancestors ; Epaminondas, Leonidas, Themistocles, Pelopidas, Achilles, and one member of the legislative body is called Lycurgus. Those which are peculiarly modern Greek, are retained most commonly, as Constantine, Spiridon, Anastatius, Demetrius, Anagnosti, &c. The names of the most popular saints have been conferred upon many ; and, by a curious coincidence, I had two Moreotes in my service at Napoli di Romania called Christo and Salvatore.

In the beauty of the Grecian females, I must confess that I have been disappointed ; they have beautiful black hair, sparkling eyes, and ivory teeth, but they seem to have lost the graceful cast of countenance which we denominate Grecian ; and their figures are peculiarly clumsy, occasioned by their sedentary habits and slight attention to dress : a delicate and even sickly air, and an inanimate expression, seem their most striking characteristics ; these, however, differ in various districts. The Moreote ladies are far inferior in personal attractions to the Roumeliots ; who again yield the palm to the Hydriots and Spezziots : these are in turn excelled by the Sciots ; and the Smyrniots, by their more civilized manners and graceful dress, are much more beautiful than all the

* *A piastre is about 10 cents, or rather more.*

others. Their costume varies in point of richness and fashion in every island, but is always tastelessly large, and by no means calculated to display a good figure. With the exception of Hydra and the Ionian Isles, their husbands have nothing swerved from the barbarous customs of the Turks in the treatment of their women. Secluded in their own apartments, occupied in embroidery, or other mechanical employment, they are never allowed to cross their thresholds except on festivals, or some other particular occasion; and even then as if it were by stealth, and closely veiled. Under these circumstances, however, the buoyancy and lightness of their spirits are displayed to peculiar advantage; continually gay and never repining, their days pass in a round of trifles; singing, music, and a few amusements, in which the male part of the family have no share, serving to while away the tedious hours of their monotonous existence. Like the men, they are strongly influenced by superstition, and no undertaking, either before or after marriage, is entered on without consulting a charm or a fortune-teller. Dreams and their interpretations are rigidly attended to, and faithfully followed. For the purpose of ascertaining the quality of their future husbands, the young girls are accustomed to perform numerous ceremonies; one is to eat, just before retiring to rest, a supper composed of certain herbs, collected at a particular season, and under the direction of a skilful diviner; then, on laying down, to attach to their necks a bag containing three flowers, a white, a red, and a yellow. In the morning, whichever of these flowers is first drawn from the bag, denominates the age of the destined husband. If white, he is of course young; if red, middle-aged; and if yellow, old; whilst at the same time the dreams procured by the herbs, declared whether their days, during marriage, shall be happy or the reverse. In both sexes, the total want of personal cleanliness is peculiarly remarkable; a clean shirt on a Greek, being only to be met with on a festival; and his juncanella, instead of being the "snowy camise" of Childe Harold, is in general any thing but snowy. Of the ladies, too, a French traveller has remarked, with some justice, that their linen, which is so frequently sprinkled with otto of rose, and other costly perfumes, would be much more benefitted by an aspersion of clean water. Vermin, of the most nauseous description, are found in myriads on their persons, especially on those of the *soldiers*; and make but a sorry figure amongst the embroidery of their laced jackets.

The degraded state into which we find religion sunk amongst the Greeks, is solely attributable to the infamous conduct and characters of the priesthood ; for the population, though they but too closely imitate the practice of their pastors, still retain their veneration for their creed untainted.— Before the revolution, the Morea alone contained upwards of two thousand pappas, under the government of four archbishops and bishops, whose annual support amounted to one million of piastres. This number, however, was composed of the lowest dregs of Greece, little preparatory study being required, and a few piastres sufficient to pay the fees for admission into holy orders : their characters are degraded by every vice ; and the laws of the church permitting them to hold secular employments, besides their tithes, they are occupied in the exercise of various trades and handicrafts, throughout the country. Still, however, a lingering veneration for their holy calling has given them a hold on the minds of the Greeks ; indeed so much so, that on many movements of national importance, they have been the principal means of awakening the spirit of the nation ; as well on the occasion of the insurrection in 1770, as in the present revolution, where in many instances they have embraced active military employments. In Ali Pacha's war against Mustapha, Pacha of Delvino, they took an active part in inducing and assisting the Greeks to drag the tyrant's cannon and mortars to the frontiers of the devoted Pachalic. The late minister of the interior, at Napoli di Romania, Gregorius Flescica, obtained his office, after gallantly distinguishing himself in the field. The present Eparch of Spezzia is a priest ; the archbishop of Modon has taken a decided lead in many important actions ; an Archimandryte of Cyprus at this moment commands a large body of men in the army of Colocotroni : and numbers of pappas are to be found in the ranks, and minor commands of the troops ; others, however, have chosen a less manly line of deviation ; and numbers are to be found among the bakers, tailors, tradesmen, and coffee-house keepers of Napoli di Romania. Still, however, a few have not so far degraded their character as to become a stain on the profession, and these are of course rewarded by the esteem and reverence of their flocks. During the present war several have suffered death under the most exquisite tortures, rather than disclose the spot where the property of their churches had been placed for security ; and, in fact, so well aware are the Turks of their influence in keeping alive the enthusiasm of the sol-

diery, that wherever a priest is made prisoner, he is sure to be put to death with greater refinements of cruelty than his companions. The Greeks, perfectly convinced of the fallen state of their church, are anxious for a reform among its servants; with whom, though they are thoroughly disgusted, they still retain a high veneration for the rules and tenets of their faith. For this reason the exorbitant exactions of the priests are always complied with, because demanded in the name, and for the service of the church; and the fasts ordained by its orders, are observed with the utmost rigour. Frequently, in crossing the Morea, when we have offered a share of our provisions to our hungry conductors, no intreaties could prevail on them to partake with us. During those frequent Lents, the food is of the lowest description, bread, olives, and snails; fish being too dear or too difficult to procure for the lower orders to purchase in the interior: dispensations, however, are to be purchased, but at such a high rate as to place them out of the reach of the inferior ranks. Among all classes the most happy ignorance of the tenets of their creed prevails; and though some tracts and testaments lately distributed among them, were eagerly perused, it was more as a matter of curious novelty than of eternal interest.

Education is, as may be supposed, at a very low ebb; the number of the lower orders who can read, being very small indeed: schools, it is true, are established in many of the villages, but their system is not much to be approved, though somewhat approaching to that of mutual instruction. All the scholars, as they come in, seat themselves on the floor, leaving their shoes outside the door, and commence reading aloud at the same moment from different books; whilst one placed in the centre to observe their eyes and tongues, applies a cane to the soles of their feet, as often as either are unemployed. In the meantime, the office of the master, who occupies one corner of the room, is merely to see that the noise is sustained loudly, and without intermission; to second the duties of the monitor, and to keep the attention of a few advanced pupils steady, whilst performing their office, in instructing the beginners in the alphabet. As to the language of the modern Greeks, it has certainly suffered considerable alterations; but principally in the accents, and the pronunciation of the diphthongs and consonants, as well as by a slight admission of the Turkish and Italian words: nevertheless, one who is acquainted with the ancient Greek, will find no difficulty, after a slight attention to the modern pronunciation, in speaking the language with fluency in a few months.

Modern Greek literature is neither extensive nor interesting, but after the specimens and details already given by Lord Byron and Captain Leake, it would be needless to dwell on it here. Their prose consists of a vast quantity of theology, a few works on geography, grammar, rhetoric, and philology, and a number of late translations from European authors in various departments ; their poetry is neither spirited nor musical, consisting of some translations of Homer, a few dramatic pieces, and some satires. Their songs are of two kinds, kleftic and erotic ; of the former, the most admired are those of Riga, and a few Cretan Ballads ; and of the erotic, or amatory, the most popular are the songs of Christopuolo, who has been denominated the modern Anacreon ; but his lines, though extremely pretty in their measures, are, in general, almost untranslatable, as containing little point or striking ideas.

As to the periodical press, three Journals are at present published in Greece ; one at Missolonghi, another at Athens, and a third at Hydra ; but though of growing and important advantages, their usefulness is at the present moment necessarily curtailed ; the details of the war occupying the greater portion of their pages : and even these, owing to the total want of active communication from different quarters of the country, are seldom either collected or disseminated by the press, till already circulated by verbal report. The establishment of a post, and the extensive influence of schools and education, must first be accomplished, before the blessings of the press can be fully felt ; at present, the greater portion of the impressions of the "Hydriot Journal," are circulated in the Ionian Islands and Europe ; very few of the number of this, or the other journals, being read in the country. Active measures must also be taken by the friends of a free press, to ensure its liberty ; even in Greece, at this moment, its privileges are infringed. The editor of the "Athenian Gazette" has been already cautioned by the Government, for the freedom of his censure in some articles ; and the editor of the "Hydriot Friend of the Law," is at present obliged to read over, and submit to the corrections of Lazzaro Conduriotti, the president of the Hydriot senate, every number previous to its being put to press. Fortunately, however, the editor is fully apprized of the extent of the president's erudition, and when desirous to introduce a few sentiments more liberal than usual, has only to insert a number of Hellenic words ; rather than betray his ignorance of which, Lazzaro

allows the article to pass. As to the Grecian army, the habits of the body who compose it, and the system by which it is regulated, are equally singular. Its commanders or capitani are such landholders, or others, as possess a sufficient sum to maintain from 10 to 150 soldiers, and adequate interest to procure a commission for embodying them. These leaders, however, are in general the most despicable and the worst enemies of their country; making their rank and interest merely the instruments of their avarice. The number of troops in the Morea, for whom the Government issue pay and rations, is stated to be, in general, about 25,000; but I do not believe, from all that I can learn, that in any instance they have equalled the half of that number; the capitani making their returns to the extent of their credit, and in general pocketing one half of the demanded sum. So that a man who claims pay for 150 soldiers, cannot perhaps bring eighty into the field. Of this system of fraud the Government are well aware; but, in the present state of affairs, they are so much in the power of the capitani, that no compulsive measures dare be taken to produce a reform. Each soldier, or palikari, on joining his capitan, is expected to come furnished with his arms and capote: the former usually consist of a pair of pistols, an ataghan, a tophaic, or long gun, and sometimes a sabre. They are, however, bound by no laws or military regulations, and merely follow or obey a leader, as long as well paid or comfortable in his service; he having no power to enforce obedience during his almost nominal command, or to compel his soldiers, beyond the limit of their pleasure, to remain under his orders. It is no unusual thing for the company of a capitan to assemble round his quarters, for the purpose of tumultuously demanding, and enforcing by the bastinado, an increase or arrears of pay; or, on the eve of an important movement, to find that his soldiers have gone off during the night, to attend to the safety of their families, or the celebration of a festival. As to their conduct in the field, they will never oppose an enemy, unless obliged by necessity, without the shelter of their tambours or low trenches; or without crouching behind a rock, from whence they can have protected aim at their foe. The Turks too, have something of the same system in their irregular warfare; and before the introduction of regular troops into the Morea, a battle must have presented a novel spectacle, where not a soul of either army was distinctly visible. Thus, screened behind a stone, they lie in wait to catch the first moment when an

enemy shall expose himself, or placing their scalpæ, or skull-cap, on an adjoining rock to decoy the Turk, take an advantageous aim at him whilst he is wasting his powder on the empty head-dress of his enemy. When the Greek has thus thinned all within his range, and wishes to change his position, he watches for the favourable movement, when, snatching up his gun, he nimbly skips to the adjoining rock, flashing his shining ataghan before him in the sun-beams, to dazzle the aim of his surrounding enemies; and here crouching on the ground and placing his cap as usual, he recommences his operations. Amongst the Turks who resided in the Morea, all were not so desperately bad as are supposed, and some few have even gained the affections of the Greeks. It not unfrequently occurs that two old neighbours meet in one of those singular encounters, when, rising from their screens, they hold a parley on their own affairs; and again part to resume, at their posts, their mutual slaughter of their friend's companions. Such scenes serve to keep in countenance Homer's description of the dialogues of his contending heroes; but, in fact, instances of ancient manners are to be met with every hour, and at every step something occurs to remind us that we are in Greece. The language, the customs, the versatility, the turbulence, the superstition, are all the same as in the days of Demosthenes. Even the dress seems to have undergone scarcely any alteration; they have still the long flowing hair; the junctanella, the machaira or short knife, and the embroidered greaves. But, in fact, as a comparison, I know none more lively or more true than the picture drawn by Mr. Hope; and I may be pardoned for summing up this hasty sketch with an extract from the well-known, and equally admired "Anastasius."

"Manoyeni looked thoughtful. After a little pause, 'You mistake, Anastasius,' replied he, 'in thinking the Greek of Constantinople different from the Greek of Chios: our nation is every where the same; the same at Petersburg as at Caire; the same now as it was 20 centuries ago.' I stared in my turn. 'What I say,' continued my master, 'is perfectly true. The complexion of the modern Greek may receive a different cast from different surrounding objects; the core still is the same as in the days of Pericles. Credulity, versatility, and thirst of distinctions, from the earliest period formed, and still form, and ever will continue to form, the basis of the Greek character; and the dissimilarity in the external appearance of the nation arises, not from any radical change

in its temper and disposition, but only in the incidental variation in the means through which the same propensities are to be gratified. The ancient Greeks worshipped an hundred gods ; the modern Greeks adore as many saints. The ancient Greeks believed in oracles and prodigies, in incantations and spells ; the modern Greeks have faith in amulets and divinations. The ancient Greeks brought rich offerings and gifts to the shrines of their deities, for the purpose of obtaining success in war, and pre-eminence in peace ; the modern Greeks hang up dirty rags round the sanctuaries of their saints, to shake off an ague, or propitiate a mistress. The former were staunch patriots at home, and subtle courtiers in Persia ; the latter defy the Turks in Maina, and fawn upon them in the Fanar. Besides, was not every commonwealth of ancient Greece as much a prey to cabals and factions as every community of modern Greece ? Does not every modern Greek preserve the same desire for supremacy, the same readiness to undermine, by every means, fair or foul, his competitors, which was displayed by his ancestors ? Do not the Turks of the present day resemble the Romans of past ages in their respect for the ingenuity, and, at the same time, in their contempt for the character, of their Greek subjects ? And does the Greek of the Fanar show the least inferiority to the Greek of the Piræus in quickness of perception, in fluency of tongue, and in fondness for quibbles, for disputation, and for sophistry ? Believe me, the very difference between the Greeks of times past, and the present day, arises from their thorough resemblance, and from that pliability of temper and of faculties in both, which has ever made them receive, with equal readiness, the impression of every mould, and the impulse of every agent. When patriotism, public spirit, and pre-eminence in arts, science, literature, and warfare, were the road to distinction, the Greeks shone the first of patriots, of heroes, of painters, of poets, and of philosophers ; now that craft and subtilty, adulation and intrigue, are the only path to greatness, these same Greeks are—what you see them.’ ”

Perhaps the most singular feature in the Greek revolution is, that during the five years which it has now been proceeding, it has produced no one man of sufficient talent to take either a civil or a military lead in its affairs. In consequence of this, the councils of its armies and its legislature are composed of men of mediocre talent, and are filled with intrigue, *with faction*, and disunion ; whence, of course, the most disastrous consequences have ensued. To go no farther back

than the present year, those quarrels, and their results, have been the cause that the fortress of Patras is still in the hands of the enemy. The necessity of retaining all their forces for its reduction, in the beginning of the campaign, after the rebellion of the Moreots had prevented its capture during the winter, was the cause of the absence of the fleet, at the moment when the Egyptians made their unmolested debarkations at Navarino. Late in the summer, the discussion of the Roumeliots and Moreots occasioned the departure of the former from Navarino, at a moment when their presence was of material service in crippling the attempts of the enemy on the fortress; and was, doubtless, instrumental in hastening its fall. Add to this, the lives lost and the resources expended in quelling the insurrection in the winter, the confusion and disunion occasioned by the late factions of the French party in the Government, and the spirit of animosity which such scenes must ever foment,—and we have imagined but a part of its effects during one year.

In this scene of envious emulation, every one endeavouring to curtail the usefulness of his fellows, and raise himself to the head of the legislature, the eagerness with which the members of the Government have sought after popularity, has necessarily obliged them to compromise their own importance; and thus, what each has gained by intrigues with the populace, all have lost in dignity and in the respect of the nation. The failings of the characters of each have been mutually displayed by his rival; and the people, thus taught to despise their leaders, neither respect their persons, nor make themselves submissive to their orders. Hence, with no command over the capitani, or tie on the allegiance or affections of the soldiery, their efforts and orders have been all unavailing to amass an army, or induce them to remain by their respective leaders, in any attempt to thwart the late alarming progress of the triumphing enemy. Slaves, in spite of the decree of Epidaurus for their abolition, are still openly kept, and even offered for sale at Napoli di Romania and Hydra, where the consequence of this contempt of law has lately been the destruction of Kreisi's vessel, crew, and family, and the subsequent disgraceful massacre on the Island. But these, though prominent, are not solitary instances: every day is productive of some glaring and important infringement of order or contempt for the imbecile government, on the part of the navy, the army, or the populace, to restrain or prevent which the nominal power of the Govern-

ment is unavailing. Occupied in these internal broils, the affairs of the nation are but partially attended to, and the greatest indolence or apathy in their councils is evinced by innumerable acts of omission and neglect. Though perfectly impressed with the importance of a post or method of communication across the country, the facility and means of accomplishing which were so clearly pointed out by Colonel Stanhope, it has never yet been put in execution, though frequently talked of; and the only existing means of forwarding despatches is by couriers, whose progress through the mountains is at once irregular and extremely tedious. Letters from Missolonghi seldom arrive in less than nine or ten days; from Navarino in four or five; and of the destruction of the Turkish vessels at Modon, though one of the most important occurrences in this campaign, no official news reached Napoli di Romania for eight days. Another reprehensible particular, is their remissness in garrisoning or provisioning even their most important positions and fortresses; witness the fall of the Island of Sphacteria and Navarino, and the narrow escape of Missolonghi. Napoli di Romania is said to be provisioned at present, but neither Corinth nor Monemvasia are in any situation for defence, though the latter has been so recently threatened by the approach of the Pacha.

Their promises are never observed with that rigid faith which should exist in their performance; in consequence of which, their officers and servants are eternally murmuring against breaches of contract, and the dishonouring of their drafts and promises for pay and service-money. But here, as in every thing else, the effects of their follies recoil on their own heads; and their faithless detention of the late Pacha of Napoli di Romania was a fair precedent to Ibrahim Pacha for retaining as prisoners Iatracco and the other commanders of Navarino, in defiance of his treaty to the contrary at the time of its capitulation. Thus, factious and discontented amongst themselves, and despised and disregarded by those placed under their command, their administration has been, during the last year, a scene of anarchy and imbecility; and in consequence a curse, instead of a benefit, to their struggling country.

Of the ultimate success of the Greek Revolution, be it soon or late, I see no reason to doubt. In fact, such is the inherent and implacable hatred which subsists between the Greeks and their enemies, that it is an utter impossibility that they should ever again coalesce with their oppressors; and

the mountains of the Morea afford passes and defences for the population, which, when driven to extremity, they can maintain against any force. But, for its immediate accomplishment, many things are yet wanting, and many and important alterations in their affairs must yet be made. Of these, the first must be, the dismissal of the factious and intriguing horde who at present form the executive body, and fill many of the confidential situations under them ; a perfect consolidation of interest under a new Government, to form which, a few men of principle, activity, and patriotism, are still to be found in Greece ; and the acquisition of a man of acknowledged talent, and unshaken integrity, to take the direction of their military operations, whose abilities and character must give him a natural command over the inferior leaders ; whilst the payment of the troops being taken from the infamous capitani, and placed under his direction, will at once secure the interest and affection of the army, and confirm his tie upon their exertions and allegiance. Such a man by his successes, and importance in the field, must hold a check over the disunion or clashing interests of the civil Government ; whilst he cannot fail, by securing the affections of the soldiery, to keep the turbulence of the capitani in proper subjection. Where, and on what terms, to find such a man, the Government are well aware ; and, perhaps, there is no more convincing proof of their inclination to self-aggrandizement, than that they have never taken any steps to secure his services.

Unless by this or an equivalent measure, and the immediate overthrow of the present system of anarchy and insubordination, there exists no power in Greece to remedy the abuses and deficiencies which at present disgrace their naval and land forces, which are gradually increasing, and which are daily productive of more alarming consequences. The advances which their enemies are making in improvement, are constantly warning them of the immediate expediency of such measures. The state to which their army is reduced is such, that without an instant reform it must prove destructive to the hopes of the approaching campaign ; their panic, if it were not deplorable, is truly ridiculous. A capitano, in speaking lately to a gentleman at Napoli di Romania, of the state of depression under which the soldiery at present labour, observed, that for his part he was not astonished at it.—“ These Arabs,” said he, “ make war in a manner which no one has seen before ; they advance in regular squares, and, standing upright, as if a bullet could not harm them,

they then rush upon the Greeks with bayonets stuck on their Tophais, so long, (stretching out his arms to the full extent;) and what soldiers in the world could be supposed to endure that?" Such speeches, whilst they show the ignorance of the nature of discipline which reigns amongst the troops, at the same time manifest an incipient conviction of their importance. Since the commencement of the misfortunes of this campaign, the ranks of the regular troops are fast filling up, whereas only a chance addition or two were dropping in at the beginning of the year. The corps at Napoli now amount to 1200, and are rapidly increasing: in fact, the unbecoming and inefficient conduct of the late colonel, Rhodios, was by no means calculated to give the soldiers a fair idea of military discipline, or induce them to join the ranks with spirit. Under M. Favier's management, however, things have taken a different turn. The same men who were formerly quarrelsome, ill-disciplined, dirty, and despised, now have their appointments and uniform (blue and white) always perfectly clean, and their arms in capital order: their discipline likewise is extremely good, and their behaviour on all occasions orderly and becoming. This improvement is working a rapid alteration in the feelings of the guerillas, and there is no doubt, that the approaching winter may make a vast change in the members of the one, and the habits of the other body. Much, indeed, remains to be done; and unfortunately, its agents, the present Government, are but badly fitted for the task.

From the few remarks which I have been enabled to make on the fleet, it is evident that here likewise, immediate reformation is loudly called for. The hopes of Greece may be said to rest principally on her naval force. Their successes hitherto have been brilliant, but they have been achieved almost solely by a means which must eventually prove inefficient;—I mean the fire-ships, whose repeated failures, this year, prove their efficacy to be on the decline. In fact, bad as the Turks are as seamen, they must at length come to some means of frustrating their attacks, at least in part: and, what is rather alarming, every attempt made by them against the Egyptians by sea has this year failed: they have not been able to prevent one debarkation of troops, nor intercept one expedition; though, in the attempt, numerous fire-ships have been ineffectually burned. It needs no demonstration to show, that with only their small brigs and shipping they are an undermatch for their enemies; they must, therefore,

quickly think of putting themselves on a par with them in the size and efficiency of their vessels. The fitting out of frigates has long been talked of, but none have as yet arrived. If they can once bring into action two or three frigates, with the assistance of a steam-boat to work the brulots during a calm, there cannot remain a possibility of the enemy any longer keeping the sea against them. But before even these can render efficient service, those unbounded licenses granted by the captains, and abused by their sailors, which now render most of the ships scenes of uproar and disgust, must be totally done away with : such a system could never exist among the immense crews of frigates. The same contempt of rule, so reprehensible in the seamen, must meet an equal check in their commanders, and the dissensions of different Islands must be swallowed up in a spirit of general interest and mutual co-operation. The abuse of their right of search, of which every merchant vessel in the Levant so loudly complains, must be vigorously punished, and a portion of the shipping ought to be detained for the suppression of that system of piracy, which is at present so alarmingly gaining head among the Islands, and in the vicinity of Hydra ; for unless this be attended to, it cannot be supposed that foreign powers will long tamely submit to those insults and aggressions on their flags. A greater spirit of activity must be diffused into their exertions, and a more regular system of provisioning and storing their ships.

During the short time which I remained on board Miaulis' brig, which was not quite four weeks, the fleet retired three times for provisions, once to Mylo, and twice to Vathico, north of Cythera. Though extremely active sailors, accidents are constantly occurring, either from carelessness, or from an empty spirit of vanity and display ; thus, by his sailors allowing Canaris's fire-ship to run foul of Miaulis' brig, his vessel was lost, and his exertions subsequently rendered unavailing to the Greeks during all this year. Pepino's brulot was almost irreparably damaged by the same means ; and, in daily occurrences of the like kind, the ships are receiving frequent injuries. Their incautious manner of keeping their gunpowder is another alarming defect ; the magazine is the lazaretto under the cabin, to which every sailor has access, and which is no otherwise protected than by a trap-door, in which the captain and his friends sit smoking almost constantly, when a spark from their pipes, falling *through the chink*, must inevitably blow up the ship. Many

have been killed, and numbers wounded, by the explosion of ignorantly loaded cannon. In such a state of affairs, and without material improvements, it would be madness to confide a frigate to the care of a captain and a crew, in proportion to whose numbers she must be more exposed to injury or destruction, from carelessness, confusion, or ignorance. I have not here mentioned any thing of the deplorable state of the administration of justice ; it, however, presents the same tincture of corruption, neglect, and confusion, with every other department. In fact, at this moment, Greece seems to have reached an acme of disorder and weakness, beneath which she is already beginning to sink ; and, without a series of reforms and improvements, of which this is but a specimen, she can proceed no farther towards her liberation. Fortunately the means of doing so, if proper steps be taken, are still in her own power. In the hands of such a body of men as her present governors, it cannot well be expected that her funds *have* been managed either advantageously or honourably ; in fact, the first emotion of any one coming to Greece and knowing the amount of the sums she has received, must be that of surprise as to what can have become of it, or how it has been expended ; the army constantly murmuring for arrears of pay : the fleet refusing to put to sea without higher wages ; the population pictures of poverty and wretchedness ; not a fortification that is not half in ruins ; not a battery built,* and not a cannon mounted by the Government ; in fact, no one trace of so many thousands having done any visible good ! Let her now, however, without delay, adopt reasonable measures for her amelioration, reform her legislature, correct the abuses of her navy and army ; and, with the means placed in her hands, under the guidance of talented and faithful counsellors, she cannot fail, even without foreign interference, to realize the hopes of her most enthusiastic well-wishers."†

* At Athens some alterations have been made in the Acropolis, but their whole expense could not exceed 100%.

† Picture of Greece, p. 211—246.

CHAP. XXII.

Campaign of 1826.—Preparations to invest Missolonghi.—Transportation of the munitions of war from Crio Nero.—Erection of batteries before Missolonghi.—Arabs.—Bombardment of the Town.—Expedition of the Turks against Vasiladi.—Attempt against Monasteri.—Prosecution of the Siege.—Capt. Abbot offers terms to the besieged, in the name of the Turks.—These terms refused.—Arrival of Sir Frederick Adam.—Great suffering of the Garrison.—Women and Children die of hunger.—The people go to the Church and receive absolution.—Attempt to escape by flight.—Dreadful carnage attending it.—Turkish account of the taking of Missolonghi.—Mr. Green's account of the same.—Mr. Myer's Letter.—Col. Favier's expedition to Negropont.—Meeting of the third Congress at Epidaurus.—Declaration of the Representatives.—Return of the Turkish fleet to the Dardanelles.—Condition of Athens.—That City taken by the Turks.—The Citadel remaining in the hands of the Greeks.—The Capitan Pacha embarks his troops, and sails up the Archipelago.—The Viceroy of Egypt lands another army of Arabs at Modon.—Greek Funds.

1826. During the months of January and February of this year, the infidel army made preparations to invest Missolonghi. The Egyptian troops, assisted by the Albanians, had been employed in forming batteries, transporting shot and shells from the Turkish camp at Crio Nero, and in cutting fascines and brushwood to fill the ditches. For this laborious service the Arabs proved themselves to be far superior to the Albanians. The former were so hardy, as to continue up to the middle in water the whole day, during the winter, without suffering from such hardships. Most of the shot and shells were transported from the Turkish camp to Missolonghi, a distance of three leagues, or four hours, on the heads of the Arabs, which alone seemed sufficient to have killed more hardy looking men.* Up to the middle of

* The following description of these barbarians is extracted from Green's Sketches, who was an eye witness to what he writes.

"Each regiment," says he, "consisted originally of 4000 Arabs, clothed in a uniform composed of a red cloth jacket, trowsers, and skull-cap, and armed with a musket, bayonet, and cartouche-box.

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February the Turkish army were busy in forming batteries, and cutting fascines. The batteries, when finished, mounted twenty heavy guns, eighteen and thirty-two pounders, and a number of mortars, and howitzers. These works were so near the town, that if the cannon were pointed towards it, their shot could hardly avoid taking effect in one part or another.

The officers are Asiatic, and other Turks, but the sergeants, corporals, and drummers, are Arabs. In appearance they are certainly the most despicable troops imaginable, there being scarcely a fine-looking man amongst them; added to which, they have almost universally suffered from the ophthalmia, and have either lost an eye, squint very much, or are short-sighted. Since their arrival in the Morea the uniform of many has given place to all kinds of grotesque clothing, acquired by pillage, such as women's petticoats, Albanian kilts, &c. They make up, however, for their appearance by their behaviour, being exceedingly obedient, and apt at learning military evolutions, the old regiments going through the exercise very well; added to which, they never by any chance complain, and stand fatigue remarkably well. Indeed, from the time of their landing in the Morea, their privations have been very great, continually marching and counter-marching over mountains, and fording rivers.—At Patras the tents were not pitched, the men were exposed day and night to the weather, and to protect themselves from its inclemency, dug holes in the ground, into which they thrust their heads, leaving the rest of their bodies exposed. They are constantly drilled, and sometimes are exercised six or seven times a-day. When off duty, one of their occupations is the cleaning of their muskets, which they keep remarkably bright and in good order. There are no regular cavalry attached to Ibrahim Pacha's army, but all the officers, medical staff, and commissariat department, are mounted, besides the baggage horses and mules. Of the European officers, of whom so much has been said, there are few of any consequence with Ibrahim. Of the French, the generality are surgeons, young students from the hospitals: Colonel Seves, known as Solimon Bey, is now at Tripolizza, and has not been here. The Italians are chiefly Instructors, or Drill officers, but they have merely the name, at least while they remained here; it is said however, that they were of use in Egypt. The number of Europeans now here and at Missolonghi with the army does not exceed thirty; and I am informed that there are not more than double that number altogether in the Morea. Ibrahim Pacha is said to pay little attention to them, and in no instance I believe followed their advice, not even of his chief engineer, Lieutenant-Colonel Romey, a Neapolitan. Their pay varies from seven hundred to two thousand piastres a month, with rations for a horse and servant, which undoubtedly is their chief inducement to enter the service of the Pacha of Egypt. Some of these same Europeans in the first instance joined the Greeks, but getting no pay, and receiving ill-treatment and abuse, quitted their service in disgust. Since they have joined the Egyptians they have been regularly paid, and never go into battle.”—[Sketches, p. 239.]

Every thing being finished, the bombardment began about the middle of February, and continued three days and nights without intermission, and afterwards for fifteen days at intervals. By this tremendous cannonade, with such heavy ordnance, those parts of the town which had escaped previous attacks, were nearly battered down, but the garrison were still by no means disposed to listen to any terms their enemies chose to offer, though in great want of provisions, which the Turkish blockade had prevented their receiving. On the 6th of March, several flat bottomed boats, which had been fitted out at Patras, left that place to attack the island of Vasiladi, situated at the entrance of the shallows before Missolonghi, and about two miles distant from that town. This expedition was commanded by Hussein Bey, Ibrahim's brother-in-law, chief officer and commander of the Condian and Albanian forces. Vasiladi is a small, barren island, defended by a fort which was garrisoned by a few Greeks, and made but a feeble resistance. A few days after this, Antolico, a small town situated on a rocky island near Missolonghi, surrendered to the Turks after firing a few shot. The inhabitants, about 3000 in number, were suffered to depart, and retire to Apta, taking with them their personal property, and such effects as they could carry. After these reverses, the Greeks were so fortunate, on the next occasion which offered, as to gain a signal triumph over their enemies. The Turks made an attack on a small island called Monasteri, situated about half a mile from Missolonghi.—This island possessed a small fortified tower, which was garrisoned by 75 Greeks. The approach was very difficult, the Turks being obliged to wade up to the middle in water before they could arrive at the island. When they reached the vicinity of the tower they found no entrance, and here were exposed to the direct fire of the whole garrison. This small number of Greeks who thus opposed a whole Turkish army, and defied its power, scarcely suffered any loss, while this very circumstance irritated the infidel commanders, and was the cause of great obstinacy, which ended in the destruction of an immense number of their men. It is reported that no less than 1500 Turks and Arabs perished on this occasion, and among them Hussein Bey, without exception the best officer in Ibrahim's army.*

* Green's Sketches, p. 138—143.

From this time the siege was prosecuted with vigour.*— Various incidents are related, which would deserve to be here recorded, if we could place sufficient confidence in the authenticity of the various narratives. The besieged defended themselves with the most heroic bravery, suffering in the meantime most severely from want of provisions and from a scarcity of the munitions of war. It was confidently stated on the authority of letters from Constantinople, that in consequence of the representations of the foreign Ambassadors, the Porte was induced to send negotiators to the head quarters of Ibrahim Pacha, with authority to treat with the Greek chiefs for a cessation of hostilities. Other accounts stated that this measure had been taken in consequence of the representations of Ibrahim and his father. It was affirmed that the proposition which was to be made to the Greek chiefs was, that Ibrahim should remain in the military government of Greece with the command of the fortresses, but that each place should have a Lieutenant Governor, chosen by the Greeks from among themselves. It was stated that Husseim Bey, formerly inspector of the arsenal, and Nedib Effendi, agent to the viceroy of Egypt, were charged with this mission. Whether any such proposition was ever meditated by the Turkish government is matter of doubt; it is very certain that it produced no useful result. The two agents above named arrived at the head quarters of Ibrahim, but the object of their mission remains involved in doubt. There was no suspension of hostilities, but, on the contrary, a more vigorous prosecution of the siege. Several vessels laden with supplies for the place were captured by the Turkish fleet. The Turks succeeded in getting possession of a battery, but it was attacked with great bravery by the Greeks, and retaken at the point of the bayonet. About the first of January a squadron of about fifty Hydriote and Spezziote vessels, under Miaulis and Saktouris, sailed for Missolonghi for the purpose of throwing supplies into the city. This expedition was partially successful, though the relief afforded was inadequate to the wants of the place. There appear to have been some skirmishes between the hostile fleets, but amidst the contradictory accounts, it is difficult to determine which party gained the greatest advantage.

On the 27th of January, Captain Abbot, of the British cor-

* See Boston edition of the *Modern Traveller*, p. 482, and onwards.

vette *Rose*, anchored off Vasiladi, and proposed a conference with the authorities of Missolonghi on matters of importance. Persons were appointed to meet him. He explained the purpose of their meeting, by presenting the following note :—

“ In the Waters of Missolonghi, from on board his Britannic Majesty's corvette *Rose*, Jan. 27.

“ GENTLEMEN—The Capitan Pacha has requested me to inform the Greek authorities of Missolonghi, that in the space of eight days from this, all the preparations will be ready to give the assault to that place ; but as the Capitan Pacha desires to avoid the effusion of blood, which must be the consequence of the town's being taken by assault, he wishes therefore to know if the garrison of Missolonghi will capitulate, and, in that case, on what conditions.

“ The answer given me by you, I will send to the Capitan Pacha ; but I think it my duty clearly to inform the Greek authorities of Missolonghi, that I am not authorized to be the guarantee of the conditions which may be entered into, nor will I give my opinion on the expediency of accepting or refusing the above proposition of the Capitan Pacha.

“ I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

C. ABBOTT, *Commander*.

“ To the Greek authorities of Missolonghi.”

The Greek envoys on receiving this letter, returned to the city greatly disappointed and displeased, and immediately sent the following answer :—

“ SIR—We have the honour to reply to your letter of the 27th inst. in which you lay before us the proposition which you were charged by the Capitan Pacha to communicate to us. And this is our answer to that proposition which has for its object a conclusion of a peace between us.

“ The Capitan Pacha is well aware that the Greeks have suffered unheard of misfortunes, shed streams of blood, and seen their towns made deserts ; and for all this nothing can compensate, nothing can indemnify them, but liberty and independence. And as for the attack with which he threatens this fortress in eight days' time, we are ready for it, and we trust with the help of God, that we shall be able to oppose it, as we did that of Redschid Pacha last July. The Capitan Pacha is also aware that we have a Government, in compliance with whose decree we are bound to fight and die

To that Government let him, therefore, address himself, and negotiate peace or war.

“ We have the honour to subscribe ourselves with respect (for the Provisional Commissioners of the affairs of Western Greece, and for all the Military and Civil Chiefs,)

“ D. THEMELIS,

“ In absence of the Secretary General.

“ N. PAPADOPOULOS.

Missolonghi, 15th (27th) Jan. 1826.

“ To Capt. Abott, Commander of the English corvette *Rose*.”

The editor of the Greek Chronicle, which was still printed in Missolonghi, expressed great indignation, that an English officer should be instrumental in making this proposal. A similar one had been made in July preceding, from the Capitan Pacha, through the commander of an Austrian frigate, “ but that,” remarked the Greek editor, “ did not astonish us, for we knew that Capt. Bouratovitch was an Austrian. But we were overcome with grief, and wept on reflecting that an Englishman could offer himself as an agent to the Capitan Pacha, and present with his own signature, such propositions to the Greeks.”

The assault threatened in the foregoing letter, if made, did not prove successful. The possession of Vasilidi enabled the Turkish commander to cut off more successfully the supplies which the Greeks were constantly attempting to throw into the place, and of which the inhabitants were in great want. The garrison, however, persisted in refusing to listen to any proposals of surrender. On the 17th of March, Sir Frederick Adam, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, proceeded in the *Naiad*, Capt. Spencer, to the camp before Missolonghi, and had a conference of two hours with Ibrahim Pacha in his tent, in the presence of the Seraskier and the two commissioners from the Porte. In this conference he solicited Ibrahim to permit the women, children, and old men, to leave Missolonghi unmolested. Ibrahim declared himself ready to do this if the place would surrender, and the garrison lay down their arms, in which case they should be permitted to retire unhurt, as well as the garrison of Anatolico. The proposal was rejected by the besieged, on which Gen. Adam re-embarked and left Missolonghi to its fate.— This transaction is related on the authority of the Austrian Observer. Sir Frederick Adam was shortly afterwards in *Paris*, where he spoke with enthusiasm of the brave defence

of Missolonghi, and expressed strong hopes that the garrison would hold out to the end.

Besides the extreme difficulty of conveying provisions to the relief of the besieged, the Greeks suffered severely from the distressing scarcity of provisions in the country. So large a portion of the country had been devastated by the enemy, and so many people were compelled to rely for subsistence on the charity of those among whom they took refuge, that the soil did not afford adequate means of subsistence.* This state of things being made known to some of the active friends of Greece in Europe, funds were immediately raised for procuring supplies. Mr. Eynard of Geneva, who had before contributed personally 50,000 francs in aid of the Greek cause, made a further liberal contribution; the Greek Committee of Paris, on his representation, voted 60,000, and that of Amsterdam added 30,000. Vessels were sent successively from ports on the Adriatic, with provisions for the relief of Missolonghi, and of the Greeks generally. Repeated attempts were made from Zante to introduce these supplies into Missolonghi, some of which were successful, and others failed. An agent of the Paris Committee, in writing from

* The following letter from an European paper affords one of the many evidences of the extreme privations of the Greeks, in consequence of the ravaging of the country by the enemy.

“LEGHORN, APRIL 12.

“A vessel from the Levant reports having seen, on the islands *De la Sapience*, or the Strophades, more than twenty thousand women, children, and old men, all escaped from the Peloponnesus. These unfortunate people, who fled in the month of December last, when Ibrahim Pacha crossed Tryphylia and Elis to go towards Patras, have passed the winter living upon grains and other articles of food that they brought with them. These resources are exhausted; since the month of March, they have lived upon roots and boiled leaves, which they sometimes mix with a handful of meal. This unhealthy and scanty nourishment has produced among them disorders which have destroyed more than five thousand; for, at first, there were more than twenty-five thousand refugees. A dreadful typhus also threatens to carry off the remains of this wretched people. Recommend to the public charity these poor Christians, who have crowded about a cross, to which they have attached their supreme and last hope. There are some thousand others who have retired to the island of Prodano. Take pity on their miseries. To give them any efficacious assistance in provisions, and to know how they should be distributed, communications must be addressed to Count Mercati, at Zante, who will afford the means necessary to their arriving at the proposed destination.”

Boston Daily Advertiser, June 16.

Zante, April 4, said, "Every day I succeeded in throwing provisions into Missolonghi. There are many difficulties, but the zeal of our seamen know how to surmount them. All our news is favourable." Another letter from the same agent, April 6, said, "Up to the present time every thing is in favour of the besieged; Ibrahim attacks every day with perseverance, and every day is beaten. His loss must be more than 8000 men. His camp has been burnt, and his men are discouraged. At this moment a strong cannonade is heard, but we feel no uneasiness. The garrison is all remounted, and has received provisions."

These hopes were too confident. It was not in the power of the friends of Greece much longer to convey to the heroic defenders of Missolonghi the means of subsistence. The Greek fleet under Miaulis, however, made one further attempt to afford supplies. It sailed from Hydra in April, and on the 12th arrived in sight of Missolonghi. On the 15th an engagement took place, in which the Greek fleet gained some advantages, but not of so decisive a character as to enable them to throw provisions into the city. Ibrahim from this time directed all his attention to prevent the introduction of supplies, by means of small vessels from Zante, and on the following day flat-bottomed boats and rafts, armed with heavy artillery, were stationed in such manner as to cut off all communication. The besieged, who had for a long time been sustained by the scanty supplies daily received from Petala and Porto Soro, were now reduced to the most deplorable situation. On the 17th and 18th, several women, children, and old men, died of hunger. On the four succeeding days the horror of their situation increased every hour. No one, however, thought of surrendering, but mines were prepared, in various parts of the city, as the engines of self-destruction. On the 21st and 22d Miaulis again attacked the Turkish fleet. But what could his squadron of little vessels do, against six ships of the line, eight or ten frigates, and ninety other vessels? All their efforts were fruitless, and not a single vessel laden with provisions could enter the town. With the failure of these attempts, the besieged saw their last hopes vanish. On the 22d they went to the church, where they received absolution, which was granted to them by Joseph, Bishop of Rogous, amidst the tears of the women and children. At ten in the morning this ceremony was finished. They shared what remained of the boiled roots, fish, and food in the city, and each held himself ready to go forward

and die. A few minutes after midnight, about two thousand men, accompanied by a number of women, and several children, who had previously resolved on making a sortie, advanced in silence towards the batteries of the enemy. They did not find them off their guard, but were met with determined bravery, and a dreadful carnage ensued. Of the Greeks, who fell with impetuosity upon the Turkish lines, about 500 lost their lives on the spot, and the rest of the party escaped to the mountains. Of those who remained in the city, consisting principally of the infirm, and of women and children, to the number of more than 1000, some blew themselves up by the mines placed for the purpose, some drowned themselves, many were slaughtered by the enemy, who at break of day entered the city, and 130 who shut themselves up in a strong house, defended themselves through the whole of the next day, making a great carnage of the attacking Egyptians, and at length, when exhausted by fatigue and want of food, blew themselves up, at the moment when they were about to fall into the power of the enemy. About a hundred and fifty men, and three thousand women and children, were returned as prisoners. These were mostly carried to Prevesa and Arta, where they were sold, at a low price, like cattle. The loss of the Turks was severe, but the number has not been ascertained. Among the killed was Husseim Bey,* one of the most efficient of Ibrahim's officers. The Greeks who escaped in the sortie, retired by the way of the Isthmus of Corinth, and finally reached Napoli, worn down with fatigue, robbed of their homes and their families, and destitute of every thing.†

* This officer, according to Mr. Green, was killed some time before, as has been already stated.

† This narrative is extracted from a great variety of accounts, which differ from each other considerably in many of the details of this disastrous event. Some of them represent the carnage of that awful night as still more dreadful than is here related. The account published in the *Oriental Spectator*, says, that the old men, the wounded, and the women and children, who remained in the city, had retired to a vast building, where, seeing themselves surrounded by their conquerors, they set fire to a mine which had been dug under them, and they were no more. Another account, as it differs still more from those which we have followed in the text, we here subjoin. It was published at Malta, as translated from an account written by an officer in the suite of one of the Turkish commanders, dated April 23.

"Yesterday, Saturday, the 22d April, about six o'clock in the evening, Caraiscachi having reached the tops of the mountains Carasora,

In addition to the above particulars, which are extracted from the Boston edition of the "Modern Traveller," we here give Mr. Green's account of this awful tragedy, which he collected on the spot.

"The garrison of Missolonghi, reduced to a state of starvation, and perceiving that their hopes of receiving as-

with about five hundred of his men, they fired a volley, as a signal to the rebels of Missolonghi of having come to their assistance. The garrison of Missolonghi having decided to retire from that place, they made the necessary preparations, and hoped to succeed without being perceived by our troops; and about three hours after dark, they directed the two chieftains, Macri and Becacello, to make a sortie with eight hundred men, and to attempt to gain possession of one of our batteries, situated on the sea-shore leading towards the Convent, which was manned by the Arabs. They did this in the view, that after having taken possession of the battery, they might open the way to the remainder of the garrison and their families, and escape unperceived. More than a thousand women and children, who were unwilling longer to remain in the town, followed these two chieftains, armed and dressed as males, with the hope of being able to make good their flight. Having reached the battery, they were not able to stand against the continued fire of the Arabs, and attempted by flight to reach the mountains without being discovered by our commanders; but in this they were disappointed, for Rumley Valesy, and his brother Morea Valesy, Pacha, had taken every precaution when they saw the flashes of the musketry discharged by the men under Caraiscachi, feeling convinced from the reports of the prisoners respecting the want of provisions in the town, that a flight would be attempted, and had not failed to reinforce our troops at the different forts, and to line all the country at the foot of the mountains with regular and irregular troops, infantry and cavalry.

"The above mentioned chieftains in their flight to the mountains were thus met by our troops, and in the hopes of relieving themselves of their superfluous loads, and escape, they put to death eight hundred women and children, (as unable to keep company with them,) and fled up the mountains, crying out to each other to save themselves as well as they could.

"The remainder of the Greeks, who waited in Missolonghi until the capture of our battery, observed that their two chieftains had taken flight, and got so alarmed and confused that they abandoned their posts. Four hundred of them shut themselves up in the wind-mill, and above five hundred others took refuge in their different batteries on the shore; the rest dispersed themselves in parties of tens and twenties, and were all put to death by the continued firing which was kept up.

"Our troops observing the confusion of the rebels, rushed in, part by sea, and part by land, and took possession of the fortifications, and, as a signal of their success, set fire to them in different places. At this time, many women and children, who were without protection, in order to escape being taken by our people who were coming up to them, ran to the ditches and drowned themselves.

assistance by the means of the Greek fleet were not realized, at last determined to abandon the place, and if possible, to escape through the Turkish camp. Unfortunately for them, however, Ibrahim Pacha was advised of all their proceedings and intentions, by deserters from the town; and in consequence, the most effectual means were taken to prevent a surprise. On Friday, the 21st April, Ibrahim Pacha offered a capitulation to the Greeks, on condition of laying down their arms: which was refused in consequence of the obstinacy of the Souliots. It is stated that the understanding, on the part of the Greeks, was, that an armed force should appear on the heights in the rear of the Turkish camp, and, on their giving a signal, the sortie was to be made. This, in fact, took place, although the Greeks never came down from the mountains to the assistance of the garrison; indeed, it is asserted by some, that it was a party of Ibrahim's troops, who appeared on the mountains, and by giving the concerted signal, deceived the besieged. Be this as it may, the sortie was made about nine o'clock on Saturday night, 22d ultimo, in great confusion, the women and children being in advance, in consequence of which great numbers of them were killed by the fire of the besiegers as well as by their falling into the ditches: the others continued to advance; but being opposed on every side by the Turks, a dreadful

"Our troops having received orders to subdue the town that night, and to put to the sword all they might meet with, rushed into the town of Missolonghi, and either took prisoners or destroyed all whom they found. Many women and children were taken prisoners. The 500 Greeks who were above mentioned as having shut themselves up in the batteries on the shore, were then attacked, and after considerable firing, in the space of two hours were all destroyed.

"After this none were left, except the 300 who were shut up in the wind-mill. These were then assaulted by our people, and the rebels (most of them officers) observing their imminent danger, set fire to their gunpowder and blew themselves up.

"The destruction of the rebels has been unexampled—their numbers killed in the town are reckoned at - - - - - 2100
 Killed at the foot of the mountain, - - - - - 500
 Taken alive in different parts, (men,) - - - - - 150
 Women killed, - - - - - 1300
 Women and children drowned, - - - - - 800
 Women and children taken prisoners, - - - - - 3400

Total, 8250

See *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 15, 1826.

massacre ensued. I have been assured by persons who were present, and by others who visited the camp soon after the catastrophe, that the plain between Missolonghi and the mountains was covered with dead bodies. On these occasions it is impossible to ascertain accurately the number of those who fell, and therefore no reliance ought to be placed on the reports which have been circulated on the subject.— It is stated, and I believe correctly, that the principal part of the Souliots (who formed the chief defence of Missolonghi) escaped to the mountains ; and, some days afterwards, several of the Greeks who escaped at the same time, came into Lepanto, and surrendered to the Turks, as they had wandered about the neighbourhood without being able to procure the means of subsistence. Above three thousand pair of ears were cut off from the dead bodies, and sent to Constantinople ; while about five thousand women and children were made slaves. Among the dead bodies those of Papadiamandopulo, Eparch of Missolonghi (formerly Primate of Patras,) and Meyer, Editor of the Greek Chronicle, were recognized. The loss of the Turks was trifling, as the Greeks scarcely offered any resistance, seeming only desirous of effecting their escape. Ibrahim Pacha gave up the town to be sacked by his Arab troops ; and, upon the Albanians attempting to participate in the spoils, they were prevented doing so by the Arabs, who actually formed, and fired on the Albanians, by which about a hundred and fifty of the latter are said to have been killed, when the others desisted from their purpose, and were only permitted to enter the place three days afterwards. The truth is, that from the commencement of the Egyptian army's appearance before Missolonghi, the greatest jealousy existed between the Albanians serving the Seraskier, and the Arabs, which led to endless disputes ; and, in consequence, the Egyptian camp was formed at the distance of about a mile from that of the Albanians. The latter were not permitted to take any part in the operations of the siege ; but were employed at the out-posts. Ibrahim Pacha had reason to believe, from the general conduct of the Albanians, as well as from secret information, that some of their chiefs favoured the Greeks in Missolonghi ; and, after the fall of that place, such proved to be the case, as letters were found from Albanian Chiefs, addressed to some of the besieged, informing them of Ibrahim's operations. When it is recollected that the former assaults on Missolonghi were made by Albanian mer-

cenaries, under the command of these same chiefs, the principal cause of their failure has thus become sufficiently evident.

“ Missolonghi having been completely sacked by the Arabs, orders were given to collect the bodies of the slain, and which having been placed in heaps, were burnt, in order to prevent infection.

“ Upon taking a review of the various attacks made upon Missolonghi by the Turks, and the brave defences of its garrison, it is impossible not to render a tribute of admiration to the memory of those who, compelled by famine to abandon its walls, have perished in the attempt. That such a dreadful catastrophe might have been avoided there can be no doubt, as Ibrahim Pacha offered the garrison and inhabitants a capitulation on the same terms as he granted at Anatolico, which they knew he had fulfilled ; and therefore, under the circumstances of the case, might have been honourably agreed to by them.

“ Being naturally anxious to visit a place which had made so many brave defences, and had cost the Turks so much, I proceeded to Missolonghi a few days since. I must confess that its appearance caused me much surprise : its fortifications are scarcely worthy the name, and of fifteen guns mounted on the bastions, consisting of three to twelve-pounders, the greater part were unfit for service. There can be no doubt that the natural position of Missolonghi, it being built in a marsh below the level of the sea, was its greatest security, and formed its real defence ; but I certainly am of opinion that the Turks might have taken the place by storm any night, without losing half the number of men they did at Monasteri. The Greeks succeeded by boasting in frightening the Turks into a belief that the place was impregnable. The effect of the cannonading from the Turkish batteries was not what might have been expected ; and there really was no practicable breach made, although the wall might have been easily escaladed. The shells, however, caused great devastation, as with the exception of about twenty houses, all was a heap of ruins. The house which had been inhabited by Lord Byron escaped unhurt. An Albanian offered to point out to me the tomb of Marco Bozzaris ; and, upon reaching the spot, I was shocked to find that the grave of this brave chief had not been respected by his enemies, who had dug up his remains, as well as those of General Normann, in the expectation that they had been buried with

their arms. The skeleton of Marco Bozzaris lay exposed to view ; the skull was separated from the body, and my first wish was to rescue at least the former from further sacrilege ; but, as I could not conceal it on my person, and did not deem it prudent to carry it through the Turkish camp exposed to view, I was reluctantly compelled to abandon my design, and merely preserved some of the teeth.

“ I then proceeded to the Egyptian camp outside the walls, and had an interview with Ibrahim Pacha. He is of middling stature, rather fat, marked with the small pox, has a reddish beard, and is on the whole not a good-looking man : he evidently has an excellent opinion of himself, the natural consequence of being surrounded by flatterers and slaves. He is, however, an active man compared with other Turks, and certainly manages, one way or other, to carry his plans into effect. While marching from place to place in the Morea, his manner of living was not at all splendid or luxurious ; but at Missolonghi he lived in great state. His tent was a most magnificent one, and combined elegance with comfort. It covered a large extent of ground, and was divided into several apartments. The outside was composed of green canvas, rendered impervious to the weather by a second covering ; the outside was completely lined with pieces of different coloured silk. The tents of the officers were green ; those of the men white. A tent allotted to every twelve men, and these were placed in regular rows. Ovens were built outside of each tent, which served for cooking the rations and baking the bread.

“ Thus* terminated this memorable siege, after a resolute and persevering defence, which has few parallels in history. The steadiness with which the garrison and inhabitants resisted all attempts to induce them to make a voluntary surrender, may be considered an additional proof to the many which the war has afforded, that the Greeks, although they may be in time exterminated by a vastly superior power, cannot be brought to submission under the most appalling circumstances to the Ottoman yoke. Of the sufferings endured by the inhabitants of this rich and populous city, the world knows little, as no satisfactory account of the incidents of the siege has been published. The following letter from Mr. Meyer, a Swiss, as one of the persons who perished in the last defence of Missolonghi, written a few days before his death, will serve to show the spirit which animated the inhabitants.

* Boston edition of the Modern Traveller.

“The labours which we have undergone, and a wound which I have received in the shoulder, while I am in expectation of one which will be my passport to eternity, have prevented me till now from bidding you my last adieu. We are reduced to feed upon the most disgusting animals—we are suffering horribly with hunger and thirst. Sickness adds much to the calamities which overwhelm us. Seventeen hundred and forty of our brothers are dead. More than a hundred thousand bombs and balls, thrown by the enemy, have destroyed our bastions and our houses. We have been terribly distressed by the cold, for we have suffered great want of wood.—Notwithstanding so many privations, it is a great and noble spectacle to witness the ardour and devotedness of the garrison. A few days more, and these brave men will be angelic spirits, who will accuse before God the indifference of Christendom for a cause which is that of religion. All the Albanians who had deserted from the standard of Reschid Pacha, have now rallied under that of Ibrahim. In the name of all our brave men, among whom are Notha Bozzaris, Tzavellas, Papadia-Mautopolas, and myself, whom the government has appointed general to a body of its troops, I announce to you the resolution sworn to before heaven, to defend foot by foot the land of Missolonghi, and to bury ourselves, without listening to any capitulation, under the ruins of this city. We are drawing near our final hour. History will render us justice—posterity will weep over our misfortunes. I am proud to think that the blood of a Swiss, of a child of William Tell, is about to mingle with that of the heroes of Greece. May the relation of the siege of Missolonghi, which I have written, survive me. I have made several copies of it. Cause this letter, dear S***, to be inserted in some journal.”

In the mean time, the inhabitants of some other parts of Greece were not idle spectators of these events, though their efforts were in a great degree paralyzed by a want of harmony, and by a dreadful scarcity of provisions. Colocotroni made an attempt to get possession of Tripolizza, by a coup de main, but he did not succeed, and he retreated and established his head quarters, with about 2000 men, at Argos.

Col. Favier, having formed a little army of 2000 regular troops, cavalry, artillery and infantry, attempted an expedition into Negropont. He marched his troops to Rapht, where they embarked, and shortly after landed at Stura, in

the island of Eubœa, in front of Marathon. He then marched immediately upon Carysto, where there was a Turkish garrison. He took possession of the town, and ordered an assault on the garrison, which was in part successful, but the Turks having manned a heavy battery, turned it with effect upon the Greeks and obliged them to retire. The Turks soon received a reinforcement of 1500 men, commanded by Omer Pacha, Governor of Negropont, and Favier, after several engagements in which he lost a number of his officers, and after exhausting his ammunition, and provisions, was obliged to send for assistance. A number of vessels, with irregular troops under Grissotti and Varse, were sent to his aid, and he again advanced on Carysto. But it was at length resolved to retreat, and the troops were re-embarked, the cavalry and artillery for Marathon and Athens, and the infantry for the island of Andros. The cavalry in this expedition were commanded by Renard de St. Jean d'Angely.—D'Angely found no other opportunity of signaling himself, and in the following August he returned to Paris, accompanied by a son of Petro Bey, a Maniote chief.

On the 18th of April, the representatives of the several Greek provinces met at Epidaurus, forming what was called the third National Assembly. They had been but a few days in session when they received the news of the capture of Missolonghi, and of the preparations of the enemy for further enterprises. With the hope of calling into action the energies of the people with the greatest promptitude and efficacy, they resolved to concentrate all the powers of government in a commission, consisting of the following persons: Petro Mavromichalis, Andreas Zaimi, A. Deljannis, G. Sesseni, Spiridion Tricoupis, Andreas Jacos, Johannes Vlachos, D. Tzamados, A. H. Anargynos, A. Monarchides, and E. Demetriadopoulos. Zaimi was appointed President. The duration of this commission was limited to the end of the following September, when the representatives of the people were to meet again. Having published this arrangement, in an address to the Greek nation, in which they call upon them to obey the government thus established, and unite their efforts in accomplishing the great end of their struggle, they dissolved the assembly, after publishing also the following declaration:

“The Representatives of the different provinces of Greece, assembled at Epidaurus, and legally and regularly convened in the third National Assembly, having adopted plans tending

to promote the interest of the people, and unanimously decided upon that which present circumstances demand, and upon the necessary mode of carrying their decisions into execution, previous to the prorogation of their labours, as ordained by the decree No. 4, offer in the first place to the throne of the Most High, humbly and submissively, the tribute of the most sincere and heartfelt thanks of the Greek nation, which devoutly trusts in Him, and which, although he in his wisdom has submitted it to bitter trials, he has not for a moment forsaken, during the course of its long and arduous struggle; but has looked down upon it from on high, and evinced to it his divine power, and the glory of his sacred name.

“ Having, from the depths of their hearts, performed the duty of testifying their gratitude towards the Omnipotent Providence, they proclaim, in the name of the Greek nation, its unanimous and undivided determination to live and die amidst all the chances of war, in firm adherence to the holy precepts of the Christian religion, in defence of their country, and that they will unceasingly struggle to deliver Greece, which a long despotism has polluted and enslaved, and which barbarism has profaned.

“ The Greek nation hopes that its heroic devotion and its brilliant deeds, in the midst of most depressing trials, which have proved to the potentates of Christendom, that which at the beginning of their contest, they by discourse and invocations never failed to express, namely—that the Greek nation did not take up arms to establish its political existence on revolutionary principles, which monarchical Europe cannot admit of, or to appropriate to itself a foreign country, or to subject other nations; but to deliver itself from that which is by some wrongly denominated Turkish legitimacy, which the Greek nation never acknowledged, and which the Porte itself never imagined that it possessed. The Greek nation did not arm itself to violate its oaths, or to transgress its duty and obligations, for it never swore fealty to the Sultan as his captive slave, nor did the Sultan ever exact as a master those oaths by force or violence: nor do the Hellenians fight to subvert those institutions which have social order for their basis; for it is notorious that they had no institutions or laws but the word of the Sultan. The Greek nation, in taking up and retaining their arms, sought, and still seek, the glory of the Christian name, which was, together with its clergy, persecuted and condemned. It seeks the perfect independence

of the land of its ancestors, of which violence and force alone deprived it. It seeks freedom and a political existence, of which it has been despoiled; in a word, it wishes to avoid subjection to any nation whatever.

“ These are the objects for which the Greek nation combats; for these alone it sees, placidly and without yielding, its cities and its villages deluged with blood, its country made a desert, thousands of its members dragged to slaughter, thousands into slavery and debasement; for these, alone, with a firm determination, it ~~has~~ dared to prefer the loss of its most valuable relations, to a relapse into the power of the Turkish tyranny.

“ The representatives of the Greek nation consider it their duty to proclaim these things openly to those who are attached to the name of Christ, and whose hearts beat responsive to the generous sentiments and the unchangeable resolution of the Greek people. They entertain a fervent hope that the monarchs of Europe, who exercise dominion under Christ, convinced of the equity and justice of their contest, will, in this appalling hour, cast an eye of pity on an unfortunate nation, whose sufferings arise from its professing and maintaining a similar creed as themselves.

“ The representatives of Greece proclaim aloud the above in the face of God and man, and in relinquishing their labour as members of the national assembly, until next September, they offer up their supplication with confident hopes and humble prayers to the throne of the Almighty, and solicit his omnipotent benevolence to look with an eye of mercy on the dangers of his creatures, and to shed the rich effusions of his clemency on the Greek nation, which considers Him as its only hope, its sole refuge, and last resource.

“ The President of the Assembly,
(L. S.) “ PANUTZOS NOTARAS.

“ The Secretary General,
“ A. PAPADOPULOS.

“ Given at Epidaurus, April 16th, (28th).”

Soon after the destruction of Missolonghi, the fleet of the Capitan Pacha returned to the Dardanelles, where it remained inactive for more than two months. Ibrahim returned with the greater part of his troops to Patras, and a long period elapsed before he attempted any further movement. Indeed he accomplished nothing of any importance during the *whole summer*, and the succeeding winter. He marched a *part of his troops* upon Calavrita and Tripolizza, and part upon

Modon. His efforts appear to have been paralyzed by the losses sustained by him, by the plague which prevailed in several of the garrisons, particularly at Modon, and the want of provisions, for which he was entirely dependent on supplies from Egypt. He was also himself dangerously ill, for twenty days, at Modon, in July. So remarkable was his inactivity, that it was suspected to arise from indisposition on the part of his father the viceroy, to a further prosecution of the war. This supposition however has not yet been proved by any satisfactory evidence. On the contrary, considerable efforts seem to have been made to send supplies and reinforcements. In July, 32 transports, escorted by 8 ships of war, arrived at Modon with provisions, and 4000 Arab troops, and immediately after, preparations were made for still further reinforcements.

Reschid Pacha was succeeded in the command by Cutay Pacha, as Seraskier of Roumelia. He advanced into Livadia, and after a good deal of delay took possession of Thebes. At length, with a large army of Turks and Albanians, and in conjunction with the army of the Pacha of Negropont, he marched into Attica. An attack upon Athens had been long expected, and many of the inhabitants retired to the neighbouring islands. In the beginning of August the Turkish army, in three bodies, nearly surrounded the city, and established their advanced posts within gun-shot of the walls. They occupied themselves in erecting batteries on the back of the Pnyx, where they mounted three 48 lb. cannon, with several of smaller dimensions, to bombard the city and the Acropolis. The Greeks however kept post on the hill of the museum, under the protection of the cannon of the Acropolis; and a strong garrison, with several Greek captains, entered that fortress. Among the captains was Mastro Casta, a very skilful miner.

The Greek captains before this time had been making preparations to march against the Seraskier, and for that purpose had assembled a large number of troops at Salamis. While the Turks were erecting their batteries, Karaiskaki with a thousand men, went from Salamis to Eleusis, where he maintained himself against the repeated attacks of the light troops despatched against him from the Ottoman camp.—Archondopolo, with several hundred men, landed near Megara, and threw himself into the mountains of the isthmus. The captains who remained were joined at Salamis on the 10th by the Ionian phalanx of four hundred men, commanded

by Omarphopolo. This corps was formed two months before, and consisted of the Greeks of Asia Minor and the Archipelago, who were in the Morea. It was governed by a council of fifteen members, and a commander of their own choice, and had a common treasury, with a fund for the support of the widows and orphans of the members who should fall in the service. On the same day, also, Col. Favier arrived with 1500 *Tacticos* as they were called, from Methana, where he had been encamped. On the 11th of August all these forces sailed for the Pireus, where they landed without opposition. From there they advanced across the wood of Olives which covers the plain, directing their course towards the camp which was established near the academy. In the mean time, Karaiskaki advanced by the Eleusis road. The whole of this day was employed in making these movements, and preparing for the battle of the succeeding day.

At day break on the 12th, Favier marched with his corps on the left, while Karaiskaki advanced in good order on the right. The Roumeliotes formed the centre, and the Ionian phalanx was destined to form a reserve, and to sustain the first of the three bodies that might fall back. At the same moment Goura, who was acquainted with these arrangements, made a sortie from the Acropolis, and attacked the battery of the Pnyx with great spirit. But it was defended by the Turks with great obstinacy, and they retained possession of it. Goura, pressed by superior numbers, after having lost several men, was obliged to retire into the fortress. The battle was kept up with fury on both sides, for several hours, and with balanced success. Towards the middle of the day, Favier's corps, sustained by the Roumeliotes, succeeded in taking possession of a mound, which was for a long time disputed, with a piece of cannon and two standards. The advantage of the day remained with the Greeks, who, however, found themselves reduced to a single piece of cannon, out of four which they had during the battle, the other three having burst. The next day, when the combat was about to be renewed with increased fury, Omer Pacha arrived with two thousand cavalry, and immediately began the charge. Favier ordered his troops to form a hollow square. They began to execute this manœuvre, but the charge was made with such impetuosity that the *Tacticos*, affrighted at the mass that seemed about to crush them, had no time to form, and their ranks were broken. Favier made vain efforts to rally them, and was bravely supported by the Philhellenians,

who sustained the shock, but were almost all wounded. The Roumeliotes also made a brave effort to sustain the battle, but an impulse had been given which it was impossible to resist, and the disorder became general. The Turkish infantry fell upon Karaïskaki, who was obliged to retreat precipitately. The Turks took possession of the place where the Greeks had deposited the wounded of the day before, and they were all put to the sword. This battle was fought with more steady and persevering bravery on both sides than almost any since the commencement of the war. The Greeks were greatly outnumbered by the enemy, particularly in artillery and cavalry. They had about 6000 infantry, and only 50 cavalry. The Turks immediately became undisputed masters of the city and the plain of Athens. The citadel remained in the possession of Goura.

The Turkish fleet remained in port at the Dardanelles until about the middle of July, when it sailed, to the number of sixty vessels, with a body of troops on board.—Troops were also assembled on the Asiatic coast, subject to the orders of the Capitan Pacha, and it was supposed that an attack was to be made on some one of the Grecian islands. His movements, however, were so indecisive that it has not been ascertained to this day what was his plan of campaign. It is probable that an attack upon Samos was meditated. On the 8th of August he landed a part of his troops at Saiagik, and sailed for Mytilene, where he remained with his fleet until the 19th. On the 21st the fleet was seen under sail towards the channel of Scio, and on the 25th directing its course towards Samos. Its movements were watched by Santouris, who kept the sea with a fleet of 53 vessels; Miaulis in the mean time was occupied in transporting a body of Roumeliot troops from Napoli to Hydra, which was supposed to be in danger of invasion. On the 26th the Capitan Pacha took on board his fleet 7000 troops at Saiagik, and sailed towards Samos, but soon after finding that sickness prevailed to a great degree among the troops, he landed them at Scio, and proceeded with his fleet again to Mytilene, where he remained the greater part of the time at anchor until November, when he returned with his whole squadron to Constantinople. The Turkish and Grecian fleets were often near each other, and there are accounts of some conflicts between them, but they are not of a sufficiently authentic character to enable us to rely with much confidence on

the details. The Turkish fleet sustained some losses from storms and accidents.

In August, the viceroy of Egypt began to prepare another grand expedition, to reinforce his son Ibrahim. To supply the losses in the Morea, constant recruits were necessary. These were obtained from his Arabian subjects, with little other cost than that of arming, training, and affording them subsistence. For the purpose of forming these recruits, and instructing them in the European tactics, for the subjugation of the Christian inhabitants of Greece, Mehemet Ali kept in pay a large number of European officers, principally Frenchmen. At the head of these officers was General Boyer, who had attained some distinction in the service of Napoleon. Before this expedition was ready to sail, Boyer, and most of the other foreign officers, quitted the service of the viceroy and returned to France. After many unexpected delays, a squadron of 70 vessels sailed on the 17th of November, from Alexandria, and on the 1st of the following month landed 7000 troops at Modon, of whom 600 were cavalry. This reinforcement made more than 50,000 men transported from Egypt to the Morea, none of whom have returned, and two thirds of whom probably have already found a grave in Greece.

Although Ibrahim had effected nothing of importance since the capture of Missolonghi, he did not remain entirely inactive. He made many marches with a portion of his troops, and found some employment in repelling the various attacks upon him by Colocotroni and other Grecian chiefs. In August he marched into Laconia, and after taking possession of Mistra, which is near the ruins of Sparta, he entered the territory of Mania, where he took possession of a number of villages. He here was engaged in several conflicts, but whether of a very serious nature it is difficult to determine. According to the *Oriental Spectator*, he burnt Marathonisi, and entered Scutari and several other towns. He afterwards returned to Tripolizza, where, with the remnant of his army, he remained for a long time in a state of inactivity.

In the year 1825 an arrangement was made by the Greek deputies in London, who had the appropriation of the funds arising from the Greek loan, for the building and equipment of a number of steam vessels in England, and of two large frigates in the United States, to be placed under the command of Lord Cochrane, who stipulated to enter the Greek

service. By various unfortunate accidents, and the gross misconduct and bad faith of some of the agents to whom the execution of these arrangements was entrusted, the equipment of the vessels was delayed far beyond all expectation, and the despatch of a part of them was entirely defeated. Lord Cochrane, and the important reinforcement of these powerful vessels, were impatiently expected in Greece, even before the fall of Missolonghi. At length, on the 4th of September, 1826, the Steam Boat Perseverance, a fine vessel with an engine of 80 horse power, with a powerful armament of ten sixty-eight pound cannon, and commanded by Captain Hastings, arrived at Napoli. Her arrival was hailed with great joy, as affording the promise of further efficient succours of a like kind. On the 6th December, the Hellas, a fine ship of 64 guns, built at New-York, arrived at Napoli, after a passage of 53 days, commanded by Capt. Gregory, of the United States, under the direction of Contastavlos the Greek agent, and navigated by a crew of American sailors. She was filled with munitions of war, much more than were necessary for her own armament, and was in every respect ready for immediate service. From Napoli she sailed to Hydra, where her American crew was discharged, and she was placed under the command of Admiral Miaulis, who soon sailed with her to Egina, where the commission of Government was then stationed. Little was effected by either of these vessels, for a considerable length of time, in consequence of the state of distraction in which the Government and chiefs of the country were now involved, and which paralyzed all military efforts. The Perseverance, however, joined the fleet of Miaulis, and proceeded to the defence of Samos, where, if the expected attack had been made, she would probably have rendered efficient service. She afterwards made a short cruise, without falling in with the enemy, and returned to Syra on the 15th of December.

The decree of the National Assembly of Greece, by which an administrative commission was established, invested with all the powers of Government, limited the duration of that commission to the end of September, when it was ordered that the representatives of the people should resume their deliberations, and fix on a settled form of government. The same decree of the assembly named another commission consisting of members of that body, to call together the Assembly at the appointed time, but it does not appear that

any express authority was given them to fix the place of meeting.

The Administration of the provisional commission does not appear to have been successful. No one respected their authority, and they were destitute of power to enforce their decrees. The military chiefs paid little respect to the civil authority, and preserved little subordination among themselves. To this cause may be attributed in a great degree the want of efficiency, concert, and consequently success in most of the military movements of the campaign. Napoli, for some portion of the year at least, was in a state of anarchy, while it was crowded with fugitives from the seat of war, destitute of resources, and wasting with famine and disease. The spirit of insubordination extended to Hydra, where the primates of the Island lost their control over the populace, and for a time the greatest disorders prevailed.— Piracy also increased to an alarming extent, and the government was unable to prevent many of the vessels of war from preying on the merchant vessels of other nations. Loud complaints arose from all the maritime nations of Europe, and the Greek Government acknowledging their inability to suppress these piracies, the English, French, and Austrian squadrons in the Archipelago, turned their arms against the Greek vessels, guilty or suspected of piracy, and destroyed a large number of them. Such were the miseries arising from the want of a stable and efficient government.*

* The following letter from Constantine Jerostacha to Mr. Eynard, will show what apologies the Greeks make for these excesses of their countrymen.

“The Greeks are on all sides accused of piracy. The government has done every thing in its power to prevent it, and has even punished some fathers of families whom wretchedness had reduced to the necessity of becoming pirates. But what can be answered to a whole population who cry for bread that cannot be given them? If you knew the wretchedness of the people of Samos, Scio and Ipsara, you would shudder with horror and compassion. Are these unfortunate people so guilty in endeavouring to escape from being starved to death? And if they be guilty in the eyes of the governments of Europe, are not the latter a thousand times more guilty in the eyes of God, for suffering a whole nation of christians to perish? Until the Greeks be massacred or succoured, or conquerors, it will be impossible to prevent piracy, for the first law of nature is to exist, and the Greeks, abandoned to their own means, can only exist by the aid of the beneficent, or by taking food where they can find it. They have no other resource than death or independence; for to return under Turkish or Egyptian dominion is death. They know

At the end of September the representatives of the several provinces began to assemble for the purpose of re-opening the National Assembly. An unexpected difficulty arose respecting the place of meeting. The commission of government proposed that the assembly should meet at the town of Egina, while Colocotroni insisted that it should be held at Castri, the ancient Hermione, opposite to Hydra, the place of his residence, where he had established his head-quarters. He was supported in this demand by Conduriotti, the late President, and others of his party. Mavroeordato, for the purpose of reconciling the difference, proposed the island of Poros, an intermediate point. But the proposition was not acceded to. The difficulty of settling this preliminary question, and the influence that was apprehended, from the presence of the army at one place, and of the navy at another, prevented any meeting, and an efficient organization of the government. About sixty members assembled at Egina, but the number was not sufficient to form a quorum of the assembly.

In November, Coletti, a chief of considerable talents and of great popularity among the Roumeliots, undertook an expedition to Eubœa, hoping to find the Turks off their guard. He landed and made an attack upon the enemy, whom he found perfectly prepared to receive him. The battle ended by his being driven back on board his ships, and he returned without having accomplished the object of his enterprise. In the meantime the siege of Athens was going on, and was prosecuted with considerable vigour by Cutay Pacha. Goura, who commanded the garrison, was wounded by the bursting of a bomb, and was afterwards killed, being shot, it was said, with a musket, by one of his own men. In consequence of this disaster, it became necessary to reinforce the garrison, and Col. Favier offered his services for the enterprise. On the 11th of December, at the head of 400 men, he entered the citadel without opposition, but the besiegers afterwards

they have no quarter to hope for on that side, and that treaties will ever be contemned by the followers of Mahomet. Let not then the powers complain of the piracy of famishing nations, or let them charge it upon themselves alone. All our vices and defects come from the Turks and the christians; the former for having treated us as slaves for three centuries, and the latter for having rivetted our fetters by favouring the Turks. If christian powers will not succour us, let them at least openly aid the Turco-Egyptians, and our agony will be shorter."

increased their vigilance, and by a strict blockade, rendered communication from without with the besieged extremely perilous. The Greek Government made all possible efforts for the relief of the place, but the preparations for an attack were not completed until the 10th of February. Favier in the meantime made two sorties, in one of which he lost eight Philhellenians. At length a considerable force was assembled, and a joint attack upon the besiegers was agreed upon. In assembling this force, material pecuniary aid was afforded by Col. Gordon. General Karaiskaki had been occupied in cutting off the supplies of the besieging army at a distance, and following the movements of Omer Pacha, whom he attacked, and after killing 800 of his men, succeeded in shutting him up in close quarters at Distomo. Among the officers whose skilful co-operation was relied upon in the conduct of this expedition, was Col. Burbaki. He was a Cephalonian by birth. He sprung from one of the first families of that island; and had lately returned to his native country, to take a part in the struggle for its independence, after an absence of many years. He entered when quite young into the military service of France. He became at 22 years of age a chief of a battalion, and at 26 a Lieut. Col. He distinguished himself in Spain, by defeating with 500 French troops the Empicanado, who was at the head of 5000 men, and by his conduct on this occasion, attracted the favourable notice of Napoleon. After the peace in Europe he lived for a long time in retirement, until at length the sufferings of his country called so loudly for the aid of all her sons, that he resolved to go to her relief. This expedition afforded him the first opportunity of taking an active part. The steam-boat *Perseverance*, commanded by Capt. Hastings, also co-operated in the enterprise, by an attack on the port of the Pireus. A large body of troops took possession of Phalerum, one of the ancient parts of Athens, and Vasso with 2 or 3000 men took post at Lepsini, the ancient Eleusis. On the 15th, the steam-boat made an attack upon the Pireus, which was occupied by a body of Turks and Albanians. She succeeded in demolishing a part of the works occupied by the Albanians, but was at length so much injured by the cannon from the Monastery, that she was obliged to retire. The troops of Vasso, with Burbaki, and a number of Philhellenians, advanced into the plain of Athens; but in consequence of some want of co-operation on the part of the troops stationed at Phalerum, they were assailed by the whole force of the ene-

my's cavalry, and were compelled to retreat. Burbaki, unfortunately, was mortally wounded, and, with two French officers and a German surgeon, fell into the hands of the Turks. The contest was kept up for several succeeding days near Phalerum, but without any decided success. Favier, however, continued to keep possession of the citadel, the Turks confidently anticipating its surrender from a want of provisions. In February he was seriously ill, but before the end of the month he was so far recovered as to attempt a sortie. About this time the widow of Goura died. She was said to be a woman of remarkable beauty, as well as of great spirit. After the death of her husband she kept in pay a body of palarkli, under her own direction. Various accounts have been given of the manner of her death, one of which is that she was crushed by the fall of a part of the temple of Eryctheum, one of the columns which supported it being struck by a chance shot from the enemy's battery. According to another account, which seems less probable, she joined at the head of her troops in a sally which was made from the citadel, and was killed by the enemy, though her party succeeded in the object of their enterprise, and returned laden with provisions, and bearing with them the dead body of this heroic woman. The Turkish troops appear to have been withdrawn from the Pireus, soon after the late attack, and it was occupied by the Greeks. Karaiskaki, after having entirely defeated Omer Pacha, and taken all his baggage and artillery, advanced again into Attica, and on the 17th of March the attack upon the enemy was renewed, when some advantage was gained, and again in April, with still more decided success. The accounts of these operations, yet received, are extremely defective and uncertain.

About the middle of March, Gen. Church, a distinguished English officer, arrived at Castri, accompanied by Captain Payne, as aid-de-camp, and offered his services to the Greek Government. About the same time Lord Cochrane, who had been long and anxiously expected in Greece, arrived with an armed schooner and a brig of 22 guns, and was received with great enthusiasm by the whole population. He applied himself first to composing the jealousies, and effecting a reconciliation between the opposing members of the Government. A compromise was soon effected, by which the National Assembly met at Damala, an intermediate point between those which had been proposed by the several parties. *They proceeded to appoint Lord Cochrane to the chief com-*

mand of the whole naval force of the country, and General Church to the command of the army. On the announcement of this appointment, Admiral Miaulis addressed to the Government a communication, which, while it shows the utmost confidence in the new commander, gives proof also of great modesty, magnanimity, and disinterestedness on his own part.*

(The foregoing Chapter is extracted, with little alteration, from the Boston edition of the Modern Traveller, p. 481—502.)

* "For these seven years," says Admiral Miaulis, "I have combated without any interruption, along with my brethren, and with all my force, against the enemy of our country. Neither the consciousness of my incapacity, nor the greatness of the burden imposed on me by the country, have been able to terrify or make me hesitate. I consider it as the first duty of a citizen, to do the utmost for the salvation of his country; and I have always endeavoured to fulfil this duty. If I have not always succeeded, it has not been for want of good will.

"As well as all the nation, I have long founded my hopes on the arrival of the great man, whose preceding splendid deeds promise our country a happy issue out of the long and arduous struggle which it maintains. This man has arrived, and I congratulate the government and the whole nation on it.

"The Greek marine justly expect every thing from such a leader; and I am the first to declare myself ready again to combat, and with all my might, under his command. This task will doubtless be difficult for me, on account of my age and my want of experience, yet my heart is contented; for it has never desired any thing but the happiness of the country. Begging the Supreme Government not to doubt the sincerity of my sentiments, I remain, with the most profound respect, the very obedient patriot,

ANDREW MIAULIS."

CHAP. XXV.

Lord Cochrane takes command of the frigate Hellas—Expedition to Athens, and defeat there—Lord Cochrane sails for Patras—takes a Turkish frigate—Inactivity of Ibrahim—Manifesto of the Porte—Observations on the manifesto—Treaty for the pacification of Greece—Note of the Ambassadors to the Porte to the Reis Effendi—French fleet at Navarino—Allied fleet—Defeat of the Arabs—Battle of Navarino—Proclamation of the Allies to the Greek people—Count Capo d'Istria—Sketch of his life—Chosen President of Greece—Donations to the Greeks.

1827. ON the arrival of Lord Cochrane at Greece, he took command of the new American frigate *Hellas* of 64 guns, and an expedition was soon projected for the relief of the Acropolis of Athens, which as we have stated, was still occupied by Greeks. In addition to the *Hellas*, a number of Greek ships were equipped for this purpose, and a considerable army was raised in the vicinity of Athens, and placed under the command of General Church, destined to assist in the reduction of that important fortress. On the arrival of these forces, terms of capitulation were offered to a fort near the Pireus, and accepted; but unfortunately, the cruelties of the Arabs and Egyptians, had so raised the indignation of the Greeks, that no sooner had the garrison surrendered, than they were put to the sword, to the number of 300.* Lord Cochrane witnessed this faithless act, but had no power to restrain the infuriated Greeks. He therefore thought it expedient to publish an address to the Greek marine, disclaiming all participation in this outrage.

Soon after this occurrence, the combined Greek forces under Church and Cochrane, made a general attack on the Ottoman army besieging Athens; but after a hard fought and doubtful contest, in which both parties suffered great losses, the Greek army was forced to yield to the power of numbers, and the Turks were completely victorious. Lord Cochrane and General Church, it appears, escaped with difficulty, and as it were, by chance. The number of the combined army killed, was 700, while 240, including many

* Green's Sketches, p. 245.

European officers, were taken prisoners. Kiutacki, the Turkish commander, supposing that Cochrane and Church were among his European prisoners, had them, to the number of eighteen, brought before him, closely examined, and then put to death in his presence. The Greek prisoners to the number of 222 were then all massacred.*

The expedition for the relief of Athens, says Mr. Eynard, has exhausted a great part of the funds remitted by European beneficence, and has once more disorganized the Greeks.

After this misfortune, Lord Cochrane sailed for Patras with the *Hellas* and steam vessel, and while off Cape Papa, had an action with two Turkish corvettes, which lasted several hours, but from some cause, not stated, he was again unsuccessful, as both these vessels escaped, and reached Alexandria in safety.† After these failures, Lord Cochrane appears to have returned to Napoli, and being joined by about twenty Greek vessels, decided on attempting the destruction of the Viceroy's fleet, then fitting out at Alexandria. Thither the expedition sailed, and having arrived off the port, on the 16th of June, hoisted Austrian colours ; but since the former similar attempt made by the Greeks, the Viceroy had adopted strict precautions, and constantly kept a vessel of war cruising outside the harbour. The Egyptian cruiser recognized the Greek vessels at once, and giving the alarm by firing guns, attempted to make the port : failing in doing so, she was run on shore. A fire-ship was sent to burn her, without success : a second succeeded, and she was destroyed.— By this time the alarm on shore had become general. Mehemet Ali immediately proceeded to the harbour, and by his presence and exertions got twenty-four vessels out to sea, which was the exact number of the Greek force. These, however, did not remain to fight, and were chased by the Egyptian fleet as far as Rhodes, when the pursuit was abandoned, the latter returning to Alexandria, after being joined by the two corvettes attacked by Lord Cochrane off Cape Papa. These repeated failures, although no doubt principally caused by Lord Cochrane's having Greeks under his orders, and brave and determined enemies to deal with, appear to have made the Greeks dissatisfied with their two English Commanders-in-Chief, and (as it is said) Miaulis quitted the *Hellas*, and again assumed the command of his

* See the Report of Mr. Eynard, agent for the Greeks, in London.

† Green, p. 256

own brig. On the 2d of August the Greek frigate and a brig appeared off Zante, steering for the Bay of Patras, where two Turkish vessels, a corvette, and schooner, then lay. During that day a heavy firing was heard, and the next day the frigate was seen towing the corvette, which she had captured, and it is believed the schooner also. "The Ionians," says Mr. Green, "are described as having given way to the most extravagant joy on occasion of this first success of Lord Cochrane, although the great disparity in size and weight of metal, could hardly leave a doubt of the result."*

It appears that after the destruction of Missolonghi, the Turkish army retired to the Morea, for a long time satisfied with this achievement. More than eighteen months after that period, Ibrahim remained inactive, and contented himself with only keeping possession of the conquests he had already made. During this period several of the Capitani seeing their country devastated, and their women and children destroyed without mercy, submitted to the Turkish power, and received letters of pardon from the Pacha. The Greek districts of Gastouni, Patras, and Vostizza, also returned to their former allegiance to the Porte.†

At this period the Turks became the entire masters of Attica, and all northern Greece, while Ibrahim marched uncontrolled over every part of the Morea. Missolonghi, Modon, Tripolizza, Malvasia, Salona and Athens, have been successfully reconquered by the infidels; and of all the fruits which the Greeks acquired by the battles and victories of their six years war, nothing remains but Napoli and the castle of Corinth. They had not elsewhere in continental Greece a foot of land which they could call their own. What is still worse, they had lost the confidence which insures victory; and their enemies had gained the complete ascendancy. The main cause of this change may be looked for in the circumstances of the belligerents; the Turks have improved their mode of warfare by the introduction of European officers and western tactics, while the Greeks, though imploring aid from the powers of Europe, and glad of the assistance of foreign military men, are still generally averse

* It was afterwards ascertained by a letter from Dr. Howe, a well known American Philhellene, that those Turkish vessels were a frigate of 36 guns, and a galliot. The frigate surrendered in ten minutes, and was much cut in pieces.

† Green's Sketches, p. 258.

to military reforms, and choose to continue in their former barbarous mode of warfare.*

It was only after having seen Greece struggle for six years with her barbarous enemies, that the great powers of Europe offered to interfere. Articles for the pacification of Greece were signed by accredited plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and Russia, at London, on the 6th of July, 1827.

But a considerable time before the arrival of these articles at Constantinople, a manifesto was issued by the Ottoman Porte, on the subject of the Greeks, a copy of which was sent to the French, English, Russian, Austrian, and Prussian Ministers, then resident there. This was done on the 9th and 10th of June, 1827. This manifesto, setting forth the grounds on which the Porte claims a right to reduce Greece to submission, is too important a state paper to be omitted in this place. As the reader will observe, it is drawn with considerable diplomatic skill, and contains the most plausible arguments in favour of the rights claimed by the Porte. It is as follows:

“ To every man endowed with intelligence and penetration, it is clear and evident that, conformable to the decrees of Divine Providence, the flourishing condition of this world is owing to the union of the human species in the social state; and that, as on account of their diversity of manners, and character, this union could only be accomplished by the subjection of different nations. Almighty wisdom, in dividing the universe into different countries, has assigned to each a sovereign, in whose hands the reins of absolute authority over the nations subject to his dominion are placed, and that it is in this wise manner the Creator has established and regulated the order of the universe.

“ If on the one hand, the consistency and duration of such a state of things principally depend on monarchs and sovereigns, respectively abstaining from every kind of interference in each other's internal and private affairs, it is, on the other hand, not less evident that the essential object of treaties between empires is to guard against the infringement of a system of order so admirable, and thus to establish the security of people and kingdoms. In this way each independent power, besides the obligations which its treaties and foreign relations impose, possess also institutions and relations which concern only itself and its internal state, which are the off-

spring of its legislation and form of government. It belongs then, to itself alone to judge of what befits itself, and to bring itself therewith exclusively. Moreover, it is matter of public notoriety, that all the affairs of the Sublime Ottoman Porte are founded on its sacred legislation, and that all its regulations, national and political, are strictly connected with the precepts of religion.

“ Now the Greeks, who form part of the nations inhabiting the countries conquered ages ago by the Ottoman arms, and who, from generation to generation, have been tributary subjects to the Sublime Porte, have, like the other nations that since the origin of Islamism remained faithfully in submission, always enjoyed perfect repose and tranquility under the ægis of our legislation. It is notorious that these Greeks have been treated like Mussulmen in every respect, and as to every thing which regards their property, the maintenance of their personal security, and the defence of their honour ; that they have been, particularly under the glorious reign of the present sovereign, loaded with benefits far exceeding those which their ancestors enjoyed ; but it is precisely this great degree of favor, this height of comfort and tranquility, that has been the cause of the revolt, excited by malignant men incapable of appreciating the value of such marks of benevolence. Yielding to the delusions of a heated imagination, they have dared to raise the standard of revolt, not only against their benefactor and legitimate sovereign, but also against all the Mussulman people, by committing the most horrible excesses, sacrificing to their vengeance women and innocent children with unexampled atrocity.

“ As each power has its own particular penal code and political ordinances, the tenor whereof forms the basis for its acts of sovereignty, so the Sublime Porte, in every thing relating to its sovereignty, rests exclusively upon its holy legislation, according to which the rebels shall be treated. But in afflicting necessary punishment on some with the sole view of amending them, the Porte has never refused to pardon those who implore its mercy, and to replace them as before under the ægis of its protection. In the same manner the Sublime Porte, always resolved to conform to the ordinances of its sacred law, notwithstanding the attention devoted to its domestic affairs, has never neglected to cultivate the relations of good understanding with friendly powers. The Sublime Porte has always been ready to comply with whatever treaties and the duties of friendship prescribe. Its most sincere

prayers are offered up for that peace and general tranquillity, which with the aid of the Most High, will be re-established in the same manner as the Sublime Porte has always extended its conquests—namely, by separating its faithful subjects from the refractory and malevolent, and by terminating the existing troubles by its own resources, without giving occasion to discussions with the powers who are its friends, or to any demands on their part.

“ All the efforts of the Sublime Porte have but one object, which is the desire of the establishment of general tranquillity, while foreign interference can only tend to a prolongation of the rebellion. The firm and constant attention of the Sublime Porte to attend to its principal interests which spring from its sacred law, merits their approbation and respect, while any foreign interference must be liable to blame and animadversion. Now it is clear and evident that by adhering to this principle, every thing might have terminated long since, but for the ill-founded propositions which have been advanced concerning the conformity of religion, and the fatal influence which this state of things has perhaps exercised throughout Europe, and the injury to which maritime commerce may have been exposed. At the same time the hopes of the malevolent have been constantly encouraged by the improper conduct of giving them assistance of every kind, which, at any time ought to have been reprov'd, conformably to the law of nations. It is, besides, to be observed, that the relations and treaties subsisting between the Sublime Porte, and the powers in friendship with it, have been entered into with the monarch and ministers of these powers only; and considering the obligation of every independent power to govern its subjects itself, the Sublime Porte has not failed to address to some friendly courts, complaints respecting the succours afforded the insurgents. The only answer made to these representations has been, to give the machinations tending to subvert the laws and treaties the signification of *liberty*; and to interpret proceedings contrary to existing engagements by the expression of *neutrality*; alleging the insufficiency of means to restrain the people.

“ Setting aside the want of reciprocal security, which must finally result from such a state of things, to the subjects of the respective powers, the Sublime Porte cannot allow such transgressions to pass silently. Accordingly the Porte has never omitted to reply to the different pretensions advanced, by appealing to the justice and the equity of the

powers who are its friends, by often reiterating complaints respecting the assistance afforded to the insurgents, and by giving the necessary answers in the course of communications with its friends. In fine, a mediation has not at last been proposed. The fact however is, that an answer restricted to one single object, can neither be changed by the process of time, nor by the innovation of expressions. The reply which the Sublime Porte gave at the beginning will always be the same ; namely, that which it has reiterated in the face of the whole world, and which is in the last result its sentiment on the position of affairs.

“ Those who are informed of the circumstances and the details of events, are not ignorant, that at the commencement of the insurrection, some ministers of friendly courts, resident at the Sublime Porte, offered effective assistance in punishing the rebels. As, however, this offer related to an affair which came exclusively within the resort of the Sublime Porte, in pursuance of important considerations, both with regard to the present and future, the Porte confined itself in replying, that, though such an offer had for its object to give aid to the Ottoman government, it would never permit foreign interference. What is more, when an ambassador of a friendly power, at the period of his journey to the Congress of Verona, entered into explanations in conferences with the Ottoman ministers on the proposed mediation, the Sublime Porte declared in the most unequivocal manner, that such a proposition could not be listened to, reiterating every time that the subject was resumed, the assurance that political, national, and religious considerations, rendered such refusal indispensable.

“ In yielding to this reasoning, and in admitting more than once that right was on the side of the Porte, the before mentioned ambassador, on his return from Verona to Constantinople, again clearly and officially declared in several conferences, by order of his court, and in the name of other powers, that the Greek question was recognized as belonging to the internal affairs of the Sublime Porte ; that as such it ought to be brought to a termination by the Porte itself ; that no other power was to interfere in the sequel ; and that if ever any one were to interfere, all the others would act accordingly to the principle of the law of nations.

“ The agents of one of the great powers which has recently consolidated its relations of friendship and good understanding with the Sublime Porte, also officially and ex-

plicitly declared, in their conferences with the Ottoman agents, that there should be no interference on this subject. That declaration having served as the basis for the result of those conferences, there cannot now be any question respecting this affair, which the Sublime Porte is entitled to consider as completely and radically adjusted. Nevertheless, the Porte still considers itself authorized to add the following observations in support of its antecedent assertions.

“ The measures which the Sublime Porte has adopted from the commencement, and which it still pursues against the Greek insurgents, ought not to make the war be considered a war of religion. For those measures do not extend to all the people in general ; for they have for their sole object to repress the revolt, and to punish those subjects of the Porte, who, acting as true chiefs of brigands, have committed atrocities equally serious and reprehensible. The Sublime Porte has never refused pardon to those who submit. The gates of clemency and mercy have always been open. This the Sublime Porte has proved by facts, and still proves it, by granting protection to those who return to their duty.

“ The real cause of the continuance of this revolt is to be found in the different propositions made to the Sublime Porte. The injury arising from the war too, has only been felt by the Porte ; for it is known to all the world that European navigation has never been interrupted by this state of things, which, far from prejudicing European merchants, has afforded them considerable advantages.

“ Moreover, the troubles of the revolt exist only in one single country of the Ottoman empire, and among the partisans of malevolence ; for, thanks be to God, the other provinces of this vast empire have no way suffered, and with all their inhabitants enjoy the most perfect repose. It is not easy, therefore, to understand how these troubles are to be communicated to other European countries ; suppose, however, that this were the case, as each power is paramount within itself, it ought to know such of its subjects on its own territory as manifest seditious dispositions, and it ought to punish them according to its own laws, and in pursuance of the duties inherent in its own sovereignty. It may be superfluous to add, that the Sublime Porte will never interfere in such transactions.

“ Considering the points above set forth with reference to justice and equity, every one must be easily convinced that there remains no ground for discussion upon these affairs.

“However, though it is fit that all ulterior interference should cease, an offer of a mediation has been in the last result made.

“Now, in political language, it is understood by this expression, that if there arise differences or hostilities between two independent nations, a reconciliation may be brought about by the interference of a third friendly power: it is the same in respect to armistices and treaties of peace, which cannot be concluded but between recognized powers. But the Sublime Porte being engaged in punishing in its own territory, and in conformity with its sacred law, such of its turbulent subjects as have revolted, how can this cause ever be made applicable to its situation? And must not the Ottoman government attribute to those who advance such propositions, views tending to give consequence to a troop of brigands? A Greek government is spoken of which is to be recognized in case the Sublime Porte does not consent to some arrangement; and it has been proposed to conclude a treaty with the rebels. Has not the Sublime Porte reason to be struck with astonishment at hearing such language, from friendly powers, for history presents no example of a conduct in all respects so opposed to the principles and duties of government?

“The Sublime Porte, therefore, can never listen to such propositions—to propositions which it will neither hear nor understand, so long as the country inhabited by the Greeks forms a part of the Ottoman dominions, and they are tributary subjects of the Porte, which never will renounce its rights. If with the aid of the Almighty, the Sublime Porte resume full possession of that country, it will then always act as well for the present as for the future, in conformity with ordinances which its holy law prescribes with respect to its subjects.

“The Sublime Porte then, finding that in respect to this affair, it is impossible for it to listen to any thing, except to the precepts of its religion and the code of its legislation, considers itself justified in declaring that from religious, political, administrative and national considerations, it cannot give the slightest countenance to the propositions which have been framed and finally brought forward. Always prepared to comply with the duties imposed by the treaties concluded with the friendly powers who now render this categorical reply necessary, the Sublime Porte hereby declares, for the last time, that every thing which has been stated

above, entirely accords with the sovereign intentions of his highness, of his ministers, and of all the Mussulman people.

“In the hope that this faithful exposition will suffice to convince its equitable friends of the justice of its causes the Sublime Porte embraces this opportunity for reiterating the assurances of its high consideration.

“Health and peace to him that followeth the path of rectitude.”

In this manifesto it is obvious that the Sublime Porte lays down propositions as truths which are not so—assumes principles not recognized by other nations—and proposes a line of conduct for the regulation of its own affairs which it every day violates.

In the first place, the Almighty has *not* divided the universe into countries, and assigned to each a sovereign, with absolute authority. The fact of such a division holds true, only with regard to the Sublime Porte, and some other of the eastern nations.

Second. If the fact be so, that the affairs of the Porte are founded on sacred legislation, and that its political regulations are connected with the precepts of religion, then these precepts are founded on a basis so narrow as to forbid the participation of other nations in their advantages, or the professors of this religion are too faithless to be bound for a moment by its most holy obligations. In proof of this, it may be said with truth, that ever since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, the most sacred treaties have been violated, with the knowledge and participation of the divan, whenever such violation was thought to be for the interest of the Sublime Porte. Witness the taking of Cypress from the Venetians in 1566. The taking of Candia from the same Republic in 1669. The treachery employed against the Knights of Rhodes in 1481.—The conduct of Solyman at the siege of Belgrade in 1425.—The destruction of the Christians in the Island of Scio in 1564, as a religious oblation by the Sultan for the sin of wine drinking.—The massacre of 1500 defenceless people at Nicosia in 1570, after the most solemn promises that their lives should be spared. The cold-blooded torture to which the noble and patriotic Bragadin was put, at Famagusta, and the murder of his attendants, after an oath “by the head of Mahomet” that their lives and property should be held sacred, &c. Witness also the want of faith the Divan has always shown to Russia, Hungary, Germany, and in fact to all christian nations.

It is *not* true that the Greeks have been treated like Mussulmans ; their property and honour respected, and that they have always enjoyed repose.

The Greeks and Turks, with the exception of some clans of Albanians, who professed both religions, never have amalgamated in any respect. In Greece they have ever been treated as an inferior race of beings, and on every occasion have been insulted and deprived of the common rights of citizens. In Constantinople they have been allowed a partition of the city, where they are still tolerated as creatures of convenience, because they practice handicraft arts, which the want of ingenuity and industry in the Turks would never permit them to learn. The terms on which the Turks hold the Greeks, have more than once been disclosed in Divan, where an indiscriminate slaughter of them has been prevented only by the consideration that by their destruction their tribute money would be lost.

It is *not* true, that at the Congress of Verona the powers, there assembled, clearly and officially declared, "that the Greek question was recognized as belonging exclusively to the Sublime Porte, and that it ought to be brought to a termination by the Porte itself."

The truth is, that something was secretly done on that occasion in favour of that suffering nation. But the treaty of London which was signed before the delivery of this manifesto to the ministers at the Porte was known, is in itself the strongest possible proof that there was no such understanding at the Congress of Verona as is here stated. Had the Sublime Porte waited until the arrival of the articles for the pacification of Greece, signed by the plenipotentiaries of England, France and Russia, the world never would have been informed that the affairs of Greece had been radically adjusted at the Congress of Verona.

Lastly, neither is it true, that the injury arising from this war is felt only by the Porte, and that European commerce has not on that account been interrupted. On the contrary, it is well known to the commercial world, that the trade of the Levant has been greatly interrupted by the anarchy and piracies which this war has produced among the islands of the Archipelago. The mediation of the three great powers has, indeed, been in part founded on this very circumstance.

It appears that the Turkish manifesto had not reached London when the articles for the pacification of Greece were signed, *though* written nearly a month before that time.

These articles appear to have been founded on the sole desire of saving the further effusion of blood in Greece, and of protecting that devoted land in future, from that cruel tyranny under which it had groaned and bled so long.

TREATY FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF GREECE.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity :—

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the King of France and Navarre, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, penetrated with the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest which, by delivering up the Greek Provinces and the isles of the Archipelago to all the disorders of anarchy, produces daily fresh impediments to the commerce of the European States, and gives occasion to piracies, which not only expose the subjects of the high contracting parties to considerable losses, but besides, render necessary burdensome measures of protection and repression ; His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, having besides received, on the part of the Greeks, a pressing request to interpose their mediation with the Ottoman Porte, and being, as well as his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, animated by the desire of stopping the effusion of blood, and of arresting the evils of all kinds which might arise from the continuance of such a state of things, have resolved to unite their efforts, and to regulate the operations thereof by a formal treaty, with the view of re-establishing peace between the contending parties, by means of an arrangement, which is called for as much by humanity as by the interest of the repose of Europe.

Wherefore they have nominated their plenipotentiaries to discuss, agree upon, and sign the said treaty, viz.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable William Viscount Dudley, Peer of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Councillor of His Britannic Majesty in his Privy Council, and his Principal Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs :

His Majesty the King of France and Navarre, the Prince Jules Count de Polignac, Peer of France, Knight of the Orders of his Most Christian Majesty, Major-General of his

Armies, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice of Sardinia, &c. &c. and his Ambassador to his Britannic Majesty ;

And his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, Christopher, Prince de Lieven, General of Infantry of the Armies of his Imperial Majesty, his Aid-de-Camp General, Knight of the Orders of Russia, of those of the Black Eagle and of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of that of the Guelphs of Hanover, Commander of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword, and of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Britannic Majesty :

Who, after having communicated their full powers, and found the same in good and due form, agreed upon the following articles :

“ ART. 1. The contracting powers will offer to the Ottoman Porte their mediation, with the view of bringing about a reconciliation between it and the Greeks.

“ This offer of mediation shall be made to this power immediately after the ratification of the treaty, by means of a collective declaration, signed by the plenipotentiaries of the Allied Courts at Constantinople ; and there shall be made, at the same time, to the two contending parties, a demand of an immediate armistice between them, as a preliminary condition, indispensable to the opening of any negotiation.

“ ART. 2. The arrangement to be proposed to the Ottoman Porte shall rest on the following basis : the Greeks shall hold of the Sultan, as of a superior Lord (Suzerain) ; and, in consequence of this superiority, they shall pay to the Ottoman empire an annual tribute (relief,) the amount of which shall be fixed, once for all, by a common agreement. They shall be governed by the authorities whom they shall themselves choose and nominate, but in the nomination of whom the Porte shall have a determinate voice.

“ To bring about a complete separation between the individuals of the two nations, and to prevent the collisions which are the inevitable consequence of so long a struggle, the Greeks shall enter upon possession of the Turkish property situated either on the continent or in the isles of Greece, on the condition of indemnifying the former proprietors, either by the payment of an annual sum, to be added to the tribute which is to be paid to the Porte, or by some other transaction of the same nature.

“ ART. 3. The details of this arrangement, as well as the limits of the territory on the continent, and the designation of the islands of the Archipelago to which it shall be appli-

cable, shall be settled in a subsequent negotiation between the high powers and the two contending parties.

“ART. 4. The contracting powers engage to follow up the salutary work of the pacification of Greece on the basis laid down in the preceding articles, and to furnish, without the least delay, their representatives at Constantinople with all the instructions which are necessary for the execution of the treaty now signed.

“ART. 5. The contracting powers will not seek in these arrangements any augmentation of territory, any exclusive influence, any commercial advantage for their subjects, which the subjects of any other nation may not equally obtain.

“ART. 6. The arrangements of reconciliation and peace, which shall be definitively agreed upon between the contending parties, shall be guaranteed by such of the signing powers as shall judge it useful or possible to contract the obligation. The mode of the effects of this guarantee shall become the object of subsequent stipulations between the high powers.

“ART. 7. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged in two months, or sooner if possible.

“In faith whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed, and sealed it with their arms.

“Done at London, July 6, 1827.

“DUDLEY.

“POLIGNAC.

“LIEVEN.”

Additional and Secret Article.

In case that the Ottoman Porte does not accept, within the space of one month, the mediation which shall be proposed, the high contracting parties agree upon the following measures :—

“1. It shall be declared by their representatives at Constantinople to the Porte, that the inconveniences and evils pointed out in the public treaty as inseparable from the state of things subsisting in the East for the last six years, and as the termination of which, through the means at the disposal of the Sublime Porte, appears still remote, impose upon the high contracting parties the necessity of taking immediate measures for an approximation with the Greeks.

“It is to be understood that this approximation shall be brought about by establishing commerce with the Greeks, by sending to them for that purpose, and receiving from them consular agents, so long as there shall exist among them authorities capable of maintaining such relations.

“ 2. If, within the said term of one month, the Porte do not accept the armistice proposed in the first article of the public treaty, or if the Greeks refuse to execute it, the high contracting powers shall declare to that one of the two contending parties which shall wish to continue hostilities, or to both, if such become necessary, that the said high contracting powers intend to exert all the means which circumstances may suggest to their prudence, to obtain the immediate effect of the armistice, the execution of which they desire, by preventing, in as far as may be in their power, all collision between the contending parties; and, in fact, immediately after the aforesaid declaration, the high contracting powers will conjointly employ all their means in the accomplishment of the object thereof, without, however, taking any part in the hostilities between the two contending parties.

“ In consequence, the high contracting powers will immediately after the signature of the present additional and secret article, transmit eventual instructions, conformable to the provisions above set forth, to the admirals commanding their squadrons in the seas of the Levant.

“ 3. Finally, if, contrary to all expectations, these measures do not yet suffice to induce the adoption by the Ottoman Porte of the propositions made by the high contracting parties, or if, on the other hand, the Greeks renounce the conditions stipulated in their favour in the treaty of this day, the high contracting powers will, nevertheless, continue to prosecute the work of pacification on the basis agreed upon between them; and, in consequence, they authorize from this time forward their representatives in London to discuss and determine the ulterior measures to which it may become necessary to resort.

“ The present additional and secret article shall have the same force and value as if it had been inserted, word for word, in the treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratification thereof shall be exchanged, at the same time as those of the said treaty.

“ In faith whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have thereto affixed the seals of their arms.

“ Done at London, this 6th of July, in the year of Grace 1827.

“ DUDLEY.

“ POLIGNAC.

“ LIEVEN.”

It is stated in the London Courier of the 12th of July, that should the Porte refuse to accept the armistice which was to be in the first instance proposed, or should the Greeks object to it, it is to be announced to that *one* of the contending parties, who shall wish to continue hostilities, or to *both* if necessary, that the allies intend to use all the means which circumstances may place at their command, to obtain the effect of the proposed armistice, by preventing as far as may be in their power, all collision between the belligerents, without, however, taking any part in their hostilities, by siding with, or against the other. Thus if need be, to employ an efficient intervention against the Turks and the Greeks, if both are obstinately bent on war.

The treaty of the 6th of July being ratified at the courts of the several contracting powers, their ambassadors residing at Constantinople received instructions to treat further with the Ottoman government on the same subject; and accordingly, on the 16th of August following, a joint note was sent to the Reis Effendi, from the representatives of France, England, and Russia, couched in the spirit of the original treaty between those powers.

“ To his Excellency the Reis Effendi :

“ The undersigned are charged by their respective governments to make to his Excellency the Reis Effendi the following declaration :

“ During six years the great powers of Europe have been engaged in endeavours to induce the Sublime Porte to enter into a pacification with Greece, but these endeavours have been constantly unavailing, and thus a war of extermination has been prolonged between it and the Greeks, the results of which have been, on the one hand calamitous, the contemplation of which is dreadful for humanity; and on the other hand, severe and intolerable losses to the commerce of all nations, while at the same time it has not been possible to admit that the fate of Greece has been at all within the control of the Ottoman power.

“ The European powers have consequently redoubled their zeal, and renewed the instances which they before made, to determine the Porte, with the aid of their mediation, to put an end to a struggle, that it was essential to its own interest should be no longer kept up. The European powers have the more flattered themselves in the hope of arriving at so happy a conclusion, as the Greeks themselves have in the interval shown a desire to avail themselves of

their mediation ; but the Sublime Porte has hitherto refused to listen to counsels dictated by sentiments of benevolence and friendship. In this state of affairs, the courts of France, England, and Russia have considered it their duty to define, by a special treaty, the line of conduct they are resolved to observe, in order to arrive at the object towards which the wishes and interests of all Christian powers tend.

“ In execution of one of the clauses of this treaty, the undersigned have been charged to declare to the government of the Sublime Porte, that they now in a formal manner offer their mediation between it and the Greeks, to put an end to the war, and to regulate, by a friendly negotiation, the relations which are to exist between them in future.

“ That further, and to the end that the success of this mediation may be facilitated, they propose to the government of the Sublime Porte an armistice for suspending all acts of hostility against the Greeks, to whom a similar proposition is this moment addressed. Finally, they expect that at the end of fifteen days the Divan will clearly make known its determination.

“ The undersigned flatter themselves that it will be conformable to the wish of the allied courts ; but it is their duty not to conceal from the Reis Effendi that a new refusal, an evasion, or insufficient answer, even a total silence on the part of his government, will place the allied courts under the necessity of recurring to such measures as they shall judge most efficacious for putting an end to a state of things, which is become incompatible even with the true interests of the Sublime Porte, with the security of commerce in general, and with the tranquillity of Europe.

(Signed)

C. GUILLEMINOT,
S. CANNING,
RIBEAUPIERRE.

“ August 16th, 1827.”

The time allowed for a reply to this note having expired on the 30th ult., the drogomans of the three embassies were sent to the Reis Effendi to receive his answer. This personage, instead of writing, sent them back to their masters with a verbal answer. “ The Porte refuses in the most decided terms to admit the interference of foreign powers in the affair of the Greek contest,” referring at the same time to the manifesto lately issued by the Turkish government, as their deliberate and firm determination on the subject. On the following day the Ambassadors had another conference,

and in the afternoon of the same day the drogômans were again sent to the Reis Effendi with another note. The contents of this, it is understood, were yet more forcible than the preceding one, and that it distinctly announced to the Turkish minister, that the objects of the treaty must be obtained, whether with the concurrence of the Porte or without it, and that the measure determined on for that end would be carried into execution. The Reis Effendi is said to have replied very pointedly, and to have repeated more firmly than before, the determination of the Porte to abide by its first decision. The drogomans, it is added, were even desired to take back their note, but they declined doing this, and left it in the apartment of the Reis Effendi. This second note, it is understood, did not contain any stipulation for a further period for consideration of the subject, such being concluded as no longer of any use.

It appears, however, that the ambassadors did continue to treat with the Porte on the subject of the Greeks, long after this period. Meantime, the French, English, and Russian ships began to concentrate in the neighbourhood of Navarino, either for the purpose of effecting an armistice *de facto*, or with the intention of intercepting the Egyptian fleet.

While these formidable preparations were making abroad, the Greeks continued to defend themselves, or attack their enemies at home.

In August, Ibrahim Pacha assembled his forces for the purpose of attacking the Acropolis of Corinth, still in the hands of the Greeks. The Greeks getting information of this intention, met him with a sufficient army at Vostizza, when an action ensued, which ended in the retreat of the Turks with considerable loss. In another instance the Greeks, who occupied the convent of Megaspoleon, beat and repulsed 1500 Arabs under Ibrahim, leaving 400 of the barbarians dead on the field of battle.

The decision of the Porte in respect to Greece, it seems, was not to be changed under any considerations. On the 25th of September, Admirals Codrington and De Rigny, commanders of the English and French fleets lying off Navarino, had an interview with Ibrahim Pacha, during which they informed him that they had orders to establish an armistice *de facto*, between the Turks and Greeks. Ibrahim, on his part, declared that he had orders to attack the Island of Hydra without delay, and that since his force was stronger than *any which the Greeks could bring to oppose him*, it was not

to be supposed that he could consistently let slip this opportunity to strike an effectual blow. He however concluded that as his situation was such as his instructions did not provide for, he would send couriers to Constantinople and Egypt for fresh instructions, and that till their return his fleet should not leave Navarino.

At this period a proclamation was issued by the Greek Government, on the subject of the convention of France, England and Russia, and in which this circumstance was welcomed, as the harbinger of peace and happiness to the country. The Greeks were at the same time reminded that much depended on the manner in which they conducted themselves at this momentous period. At this time the seat of government was removed from Napoli to Egina, in order that their deliberations might be carried on with greater freedom, and without disturbance ; there being at the former place considerable discord and excitement.

Ibrahim Pacha, notwithstanding the positive engagement he had entered into with the English and French Admirals not to remove his fleet from Navarino, until the return of his couriers from Constantinople and Egypt, did not hesitate on the next day to weigh anchor with a view of quitting the place. This appears by the following official document, signed by the three Admirals. "The Admirals commanding the squadrons of the three powers which signed the treaty of London, having met before Navarino, for the purpose of concerting the means of effecting the object specified in the said treaty, viz. an armistice de facto between the Turks and the Greeks, have set forth in the present protocol the result of this conference.

"Considering that after the provisional suspension of hostilities, to which Ibrahim Pacha consented in his conference of the 25th of September last, with the English and French Admirals, acting likewise in the name of the Russian Admiral, the said Pacha did, the very next day, violate his engagement by causing his fleet to come out, with a view to its proceeding to another point in the Morea.

"Considering that since the return of that fleet to Navarino, in consequence of a second requisition addressed to Ibrahim, by Admiral Codrington, who had met him near Patras, the troops of this Pacha have not ceased carrying on a species of warfare more destructive and exterminating than before, putting women and children to the sword,

burning the habitations, tearing up trees by the roots, in order to complete the devastation of the country.

“ Considering that, with a view of putting a stop to the atrocities, which exceed all that has hitherto taken place, the means of persuasion and conciliation, the representations made to the Turkish Chiefs, and the advice given to Mehemet Ali and his son, have been treated as a mockery, whilst they might with one word have suspended the course of so many barbarities.

“ Considering that there only remains to the commanders of the allied squadrons the choice between three modes of fulfilling the intentions of their respective courts, namely :—

“ 1st. That of continuing throughout the whole winter, a blockade, difficult, expensive, or perhaps useless, since a storm may disperse the squadrons, and afford to Ibrahim the facility of conveying his destroying army to different points of the Morea, and islands.

“ 2dly. The uniting the allied squadron in Navarino itself, and securing, by this permanent presence, the inaction of the Ottoman fleets ; but which mode alone leads to no termination, since the Porte persists in not changing its system.

“ 3dly. The proceeding to take a position with the squadrons in Navarino, in order to renew to Ibrahim propositions which, entering into the spirit of the treaty, were evidently to the advantage of the Porte itself.

“ After having taken these three modes into consideration, we have unanimously agreed that this third mode may, without effusion of blood, and without hostilities, but simply by the imposing presence of the squadrons, produce a determination leading to the third object.”

Signed October 18, 1827.

With a view of carrying into effect the above humane object, and of preventing the further shedding of innocent blood, by intimidating Ibrahim, the fleet was moored in the harbour of Navarino. The barbarian now seeing that he could do nothing at sea without at once coming to blows, determined to wreak his vengeance on every Greek in his power, and in defiance of the armistice, and the most solemn promises, continued to destroy vineyards, burn houses, and massacre women and children, wherever he went.

It was under these circumstances that the battle of Navarino was fought. The description of this battle we give in *the words of the official account from Admiral Codrington to his government.*

His Majesty's ship *Asia*, in the port of Navarino, October 21, 1827.

"SIR:—I have the honour of informing his royal highness, the Lord High Admiral, that my colleagues, Count Heyden and Chevalier de Rigny, having agreed with me that we should come into this port, in order to induce Ibrahim Pacha to discontinue the brutal war of extermination, which he has been carrying on since his return here from his failure in the gulf of Patras; the combined squadrons passed the batteries, in order to take up their anchorage, at about two o'clock yesterday afternoon.

The Turkish ships were moored in the form of a crescent, with springs on their cables, the larger ones presenting their broadsides towards the centre, the smaller ones in succession within them, filling up the intervals.

The combined fleet was formed in the order of sailing in two columns, the British and French forming the weather or starboard line, and the Russian the lee line.

The *Asia* led in, followed by the *Genoa* and *Albion*, and anchored close alongside a ship of the line, bearing the flag of Capitana Bey, another ship of the line, and a large double banked frigate, each thus having their proper opponent in the front line of the Turkish fleet.

The four ships to the windward part of the Egyptian squadron, were allotted to the squadron of Rear Admiral de Rigny; and those to leeward, in the bight of the crescent were to mark the sections of the whole Russian squadron; the ships of their line closing those of the English line, and being followed up by their own frigates. The French frigate *Armide*, was directed to place herself alongside the outermost frigate on the left hand entering the harbour; and the *Cambrian*, *Glasgow* and *Talbot*, next to her, and abreast of the *Asia*, *Genoa* and *Albion*; the *Dartmouth* and the *Musquito*, the *Rose*, the *Brisk*, and the *Philomel*, were to look after the six fire vessels at the entrance of the harbour. I gave orders that no gun should be fired, unless guns were first fired by the Turks; and those orders were strictly observed. The three English ships were accordingly permitted to pass the batteries to moor, as they did with great rapidity, without any act of open hostilities, although there was evident preparation for it on board all the Turkish ships; but upon the *Dartmouth* sending a boat to one of the fire vessels, Lieut. G. W. H. Fitzroy, and several of her crew, were shot with musketry. This produced a defensive fire of musketry from the *Dartmouth* and *La Syrene*, bearing the

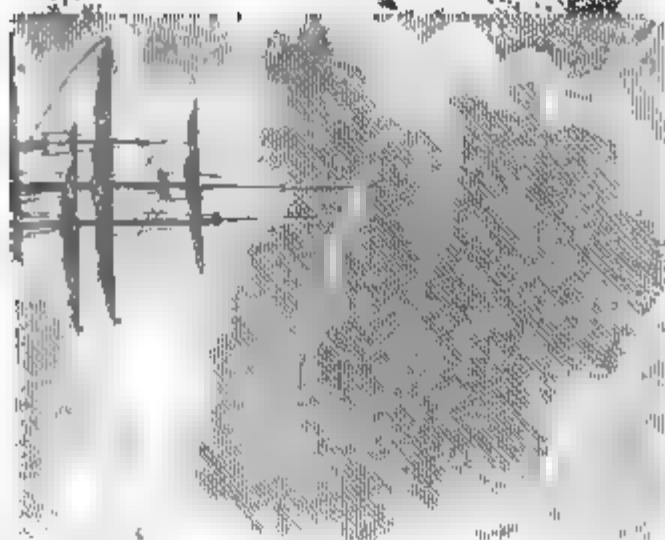
flag of Rear Admiral de Rigny. That was succeeded by a cannon shot at the rear admiral from one of the Turkish ships, which, of course, brought on a return, and thus, very shortly afterwards, the battle became general. The Asia, although placed alongside of the ship of the Capitana Bey, was even nearer to that of Moharem Bey, the commander of the Egyptian ships; and since his ship did not fire at the Asia, although the action was begun to windward, neither did the Asia fire at her. The latter indeed sent a message "that he would not fire at all," and therefore no hostility took place between our two ships, for some time after the Asia had returned the fire of the Capitana Bey.

In the meantime, however, our excellent pilot, Mr. Peter Mitchell, who went to interpret to Moharem my desire to avoid bloodshed, was killed by his people in our boat alongside. Whether with or without his order I know not; but his ship soon afterwards fired into the Asia, and was consequently effectually destroyed by the Asia's fire, sharing the same fate as his brother admiral on the starboard side, and falling to leeward a mere wreck. These ships being out of the way, the Asia being exposed to a raking fire from vessels in the second and third line, which carried away her mizzen mast by the board, disabled some of her guns, and killed and wounded several of the crew. The narration of the proceedings of the Asia would probably be equally applicable to most of the other vessels of the other fleet. The manner in which the Genoa and Albion took their stations was beautiful, and the conduct of my brother admirals, Count Heyden, and the chevalier de Rigny, throughout, was admirable and highly exemplary.

Capt. Fellowes executed the part allotted to him perfectly, and with the able assistance of his little, but brave detachment, saved the Syrene from being burnt by the fire vessels. And the Cambrian, Glasgow, and Talbot, following the fine example of Captian Hugon, of the Armide, who was opposed to the leading frigate of the line, effectually destroyed their opponents, and also silenced the batteries.—This bloody and destructive battle was continued, with unabated fury, for four hours, and the scene of wreck and devastation which presented itself at its termination, was such as has been seldom witnessed. As each ship of our opponents became effectually disabled, such of her crew as could escape from her, endeavoured to set her on fire, and it is



BATTLE OF NAVARINO



wonderful how we avoided the effects of their successive and awful explosions.

It is impossible for me to say too much for the able and zealous assistance which I derived from Capt. Curzon throughout this long and arduous contest: nor can I say more than it deserves for the conduct of commander Baynes, and the officers and crew of the *Asia*, for the perfection with which the fire of their guns was directed; each vessel in turn, to which her broadside was presented, became a complete wreck. His Royal Highness will be aware, that so complete a victory by a few, however perfect, against an excessive number, however individually inferior, cannot be acquired but at a considerable sacrifice of life; accordingly I have to lament the loss of Captain Bathurst, of the *Genoa*, whose example on this occasion is well worthy the imitation of his survivors. Captain Bell, commanding the royal marines of the *Asia*, an excellent officer, was killed early in the action, in the steady performance of his duty; and I have to mourn the death of Mr. William Smith, the master, admired for the zeal and ability with which he executed his duty, and beloved by all for his private qualities as a man. Mr. Henry S. Dyer, my secretary, having received a severe contusion from a splinter, I am deprived temporarily of his valuable assistance in collecting and keeping up the general returns, and communications of the squadrons; I shall therefore retain in my office Mr. E. J. T. White, his first clerk, whom I have nominated to succeed the purser of the *Brisk*. I feel much personal obligation to the honourable Lieut. Col. Craddock, for his readiness, during the heat of the battle, in carrying my orders and messages to the different quarters, after my aides-de-camp were disabled; but I will beg permission to refer his Royal Highness for further particulars of this sort, to the details of the killed and wounded, a subject which it is painful for me to dwell upon. When I contemplate, as I do with extreme sorrow, the extent of our loss, I console myself with the reflection, that the measure which produced the battle was absolutely necessary for obtaining the results contemplated by the treaty, and that it was brought on entirely by our opponents.

When I found that the boasted Ottoman word of honour was made a sacrifice to wanton, savage devastation, and that a base advantage was taken of our reliance upon Ibrahim's good faith, I felt a desire to punish the offenders. But it was my duty to refrain, and refrain I did; and I can assure

your Royal Highness, that I would still have avoided this disastrous extremity, if other means had been open to me.

The Asia, Genoa, and Albion, have each suffered so much, that it is my intention to send them to England, as soon as they shall have received the necessary repairs for the voyage. The Talbot, being closely engaged with a double banked frigate, has also suffered considerably, as well as others of the smaller vessels; but I hope their defects are not more than can be made good at Malta. The loss of men in the Turko-Egyptian ships must have been immense, as his Royal Highness will see by the accompanying list, obtained from the Secretary of the Capitana Bey, which includes two out of the three ships to which the English division was opposed. Captain Curzon having preferred continuing to assist me in the Asia, I have given the charge of my despatches to commander Lord Viscount Ingestre, who besides having a brilliant share in the action, is well competent to give his Royal Highness, the lord high admiral, any further particulars he may require.

I enclose, for his Royal Highness's further information; a letter from Captain Hamilton, descriptive of the proceedings of Ibrahim Pacha, and the misery of the country which he has devastated—a protocol of the conference which I had with my colleagues, and the plan and order for entering the port, which I gave out in consequence. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

E. CODRINGTON, *Vice Admiral.*"

FRENCH OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.

Paris, November 8.

"We have received the following news from our squadron in the Archipelago, dated October 22.

On the 20th, at noon, the wind being favourable, signals were made to prepare for action; every one took his post, the English Admiral's ship, the Asia, leading, followed by the Albion and the Genoa; the Syrene frigate bearing the flag of Admiral de Rigny, the Scipio, the Trident, and the Breslau; then the Russian Admiral count Heyden, followed by three ships of the line and four frigates.

The Turks had formed a crescent on the contour of the bay, in a triple line, making a total of three ships of the line, a razee, sixteen frigates, twenty-seven large corvettes, and as many brigs.

The principal force was assembled towards the right on

entering, and composed of four large frigates, two ships of the line, a large frigate, a ship of the line, three ships of various sizes finishing the line, and strengthened in the second line by corvettes and brigs.

Six fire-ships were placed at the extremities of the crescent, to be able to fall upon the combined squadrons, if an engagement should take place, and to the windward of which they were naturally placed.

The English frigate *Dartmouth*, Capt. Fellowes, had been sent to Navarino two days before, with a letter to Ibrahim from the three Admirals; but this letter had been sent back without answer, under the pretence that Ibrahim was not present.

At two o'clock the *Asia* entered the port, and had passed the batteries at half past two; it anchored alongside the Turkish Admiral, and was followed by the other English ships.

The *Syrene* followed, and at 25 minutes past two Captain Robert anchored at within pistol shot of the first frigate of the Turkish line; at this moment a boat belonging to the *Dartmouth*, came near one of the fire-ships, near which that frigate had cast anchor a few moments before, when a musket shot from this fire-ship killed the English officer who commanded the boat. The *Syrene* was then so near the fire-ship, that it might have sunk it, if it could have been done without endangering the English boat: the *Dartmouth* then opened a fire of musketry at the fire-ship, in order to cover its boat. Almost at the same moment the *Syrene* was yard-arm and yard-arm with the Egyptian double-banked frigate. The *Esnina*, Admiral de Rigny, hailed it with the speaking trumpet, saying, that if it did not fire, he would not fire at it; at the same instant two cannon shots were fired from one of the vessels which were astern of the *Syrene*, on board of which a man was killed; the other appeared to be directed against the *Dartmouth*. The battle now began.

It is to be observed, that almost at the same time that this was passing at the entrance, Admiral Codrington sent a boat towards the vessel bearing the Admiral's flag, and that the English pilot was killed by a musket shot on board the boat with the flag of truce.

The battle soon became general; the Russian vessels had to support the fire of the forts, which only began to fire upon the fifth vessel, which was the *Trident*. At five o'clock in the afternoon, the first line of the Turks was de-

stroyed—the ships of the line and cut down frigates sunk, or burned; the remainder ran upon the coast, where the enemy themselves set fire to them.

Of this formidable armament, there remains afloat only about 20 corvettes and brigs, and even these are abandoned.

Thus has been fulfilled the threat held out to Ibrahim, that if a cannon was fired upon the allied flags, the fate of the whole fleet would be at stake.

Ibrahim was not present: for this fortnight past he has been laying waste the Morea, rooting up the olives, vines, fig-trees, &c.

In this unforeseen engagement, there were of course some vessels, which, by their position, have suffered more than the others; what is certain, is, that in each squadron all have rivalled each other in doing their duty.

His Majesty's brig the *Armide*, which, at the beginning of the action was placed with the English frigate *Talbot*, at the left extremity of the crescent, was exposed, with its brave comrade, to the fire of five Turkish frigates, till the arrival of the Russian frigates. Capt. Hugon has received unanimous felicitations for the boldness of his manœuvres, and the gallantry with which he fought the vessels opposed to him. The *Scipio*, Capt. Milires, whose bowsprit was entangled with a fire-ship that was in flames, had to extinguish the fire on board four times without ceasing to fight, firing at the same time to the right and left on the enemy's line, and on the forts.

In consequence of the position taken by Capt. Maurice, of the *Trident*, Admiral de Rigny received the most complete assistance from that vessel.

Captain la Bretonniere, of the *Breslau*, fought first under sail, and then at anchor, going wherever his presence might be useful. The Russian Admiral has returned special thanks to Admiral de Rigny for the assistance which he received from the *Breslau*, at the moment when the *Azof* suffered severely from the cross fire of the enemy.

The *Alcyone* and the *Daphne*, schooners, bravely participated in the attack upon the first fire-ships, made by the English brigs and corvettes.

In a word, whatever opposed the allied vessels was speedily overcome, notwithstanding the desperate bravery shown by some Turkish vessels.

Admiral de Rigny has felt himself bound to return particular thanks to Captain Fellowes, of his Britannic Majesty's

frigate the Dartmouth, which was appointed to watch the fire-ships, for the timely succour he afforded him when one of the fire-ships, in flames, was on the point of falling on the Syrene.

Our squadron had 43 killed, and 114 wounded. Captain de la Bretonniere was slightly wounded. Our squadron has suffered great damage. Two of our ships of the line are obliged to return to Toulon to repair their masts. The Syrene in particular has sustained great injury ; its main and mizen-masts are shot away ; the two lower yards and main-top yard are shot away, and it has six shots between wind and water.

The Trident is going to Smyrna to meet the Junon, the Pomone, and the other light vessels, to supply the wants of the moment, and to expect new directions.

The English corvette Rose, has gone to Smyrna, whence couriers will be despatched to Constantinople to announce this important event. Captain Reverseaux, of the Pomone, had instructions to protect the French subjects.

Chevalier de Rigny speaks in high terms of the cordiality and efficacious co-operation of the Admirals, his colleagues.

Some days before the battle, Admiral de Rigny had intimated to the French, who were employed on board Ibrahim's fleet, that the mode of warfare recently adopted by the Turks, and the violation of his word by Ibrahim, authorized him to call upon them to quit that service. Only one of them did not consider the occasion sufficiently urgent to obey this summons. It is not known whether he persevered.

Our crews have justified the confidence of the king ; in each vessel, the cry of "vive le roi" spontaneously accompanied the first broadside.

This squadron had before it, for some hours, a dreadful scene. Conceive about fifty ships of war, of all rates, firing in a narrow basin, in a triple line ; the burning of some, and the explosions which ensued.

When the first frigate, yard-arm to yard-arm with our vessels, took fire and blew up, the Syrene was so near astern, that its mizen-mast fell on that frigate, which was soon followed by the main-mast."

The great disparity in respect to the numbers opposed to each other at the battle of Navarino, constituted the victory among the most brilliant which any navy can claim.

According to the statements made by the Secretary of the Capitani Bey, the Turkish force amounted to as follows :—

Three Turkish line of battle ships, viz : 1 Turkish Admiral, 84 guns, 850 men, of whom 650 were killed—1 do. 84 guns, 850 men—1 do. 76 guns, 850 men, 400 killed.

Four Egyptian double banked frigates, 64 guns each, from 450 to 500 men each.

Fifteen Turkish frigates, each 48 guns, and from 450 to 500 men each.

Eighteen Turkish corvettes,—eight Egyptian do.—from 18 to 24 guns, and 200 men each.

Four Turkish, and eight Egyptian do.—19 guns, and from 130 to 150 men each.

Five Egyptian fire vessels.

The forces of the Allies were as follows :—

English, 3 line,	4 frigates,	4 sloops.—Total	11
French, 3 do.	4 do.	2 do.	9
Russian, 4 do.	4 do.	0 do.	8
			—
			28

According to Monsieur Bompard, a French officer, who was in the service of Ibrahim at the time of the battle, the number of Turkish vessels of different sizes at the battle of Navarino, was 81.

In addition to the above official statements, several interesting, and well authenticated circumstances are now to be related concerning the battle of Navarino.

After the battle, the allied admirals sent to the Turkish commanders a joint note, stating that the squadrons of the allied powers did not enter Navarino with a hostile intention, but only to renew to the commanders of the Turkish fleet propositions which were to the advantage of the Grand Seigneur himself, and that it was not their intention to destroy what ships of the Ottoman navy may yet remain, now that so signal a vengeance had been taken for the first cannon which had been ventured to be fired on the allied flags.

“ We send, therefore, one of the Turkish captains, fallen into our hands as a prisoner, to make known to Ibrahim Pacha, Mauhareem Bey, Tahir Pacha, and Capitani Bey, as well as to all the other Turkish chiefs, that if a single musket or cannon shot be again fired on a ship or boat of the allied powers, we shall immediately destroy all the remaining vessels as well as the forts of Navarino, and that we shall consider such a new act of hostility as a *formal declaration of the*

Porte against the three Allied powers, and which the Grand Seigneur and his Pachas must suffer the terrible consequences.

“ But if the Turkish chiefs, acknowledging the aggression they have committed by commencing the firing, abstain from any act of hostility, we shall resume those terms of good understanding which they have themselves interrupted. In this case they will have the white flag hoisted on all the forts before the end of this day. We demand a categorical answer, without evasion, before sunset.”

Information was subsequently received through the French papers that Ibrahim hoisted the white flag on all his fortresses before sunset, agreeably to the above injunction. It is said also, that Ibrahim was not present at the battle of Navarino, having been at that time engaged in the interior of the Morea, pursuing the Christians in the mountains of Messina, attending to the execution of some priests, whom he had crucified on olive trees, and destroying the poor peasantry, devastating the country, &c.

It appears that Ibrahim has constantly taken delight in murder, devastation, and cruelty. In a letter from Corfu, it is stated, that the threat made by the Porte on receipt of the treaty of the 6th of July, that every armed interference in the affairs of Greece would fail in its object, and lead to a greater effusion of blood, appears to be really carrying into effect. After the failure of his attempt to leave the port of Navarino, Ibrahim marched against Maina, and committed on the way the most frightful devastations. Fifteen thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry, scoured the peninsula, with cries of “ down with the infidels.”

On being informed of the destruction of his fleet, Ibrahim, as appears by a letter from Ancona, immediately fell back upon Coron, and put to the sword, or torture, all the Greek prisoners, men, women and children, which had fallen into his hands during the previous fifteen months. According to his previous custom, the Ministers of religion were either crucified or roasted by slow fires. The details of these enormities, no person could read without shuddering with horror. They are too shocking for description.

The following communication from the three allied commanders to the Greek Government, shews that the cessation of hostilities was not intended to be confined to the Turks alone, but that the armistice de facto was to apply to the Greeks as well as their enemies. It is dated October 25:

“ We learn, with lively feelings of indignation, that, while the ships of the allied powers have destroyed the Turkish fleet, which had refused submitting to the armistice de facto, the Greek cruisers continue to infest the seas; and that the prize court, the only tribunal recognized by the Greek code, seeks by legal forms to justify their excesses.

“ Your provisional government appear to think, that the chiefs of the allied squadrons are not agreed on the measures to be adopted for putting a stop to this system of lawless plunder. It deceives itself. We here declare to you with one voice, that we will not suffer your seeking, under false pretexts, to enlarge the theatre of war; that is to say, the circle of piracies.

“ We will not suffer any expedition, any cruise, any blockade, to be made by the Greeks beyond the limits of from Valo to Lepanto, including Salamina, Egina, Hydra, and Spezzia.

“ We will not suffer the Greeks to incite insurrection at Scio, or in Albania, thereby exposing the population to be massacred by the Turks in retaliation.

“ We will consider as void, papers given to cruizers found beyond the prescribed limits; and ships of war of the allied powers will have orders to arrest them wherever they may be found.

“ There remains for you, no pretext. The armistice by sea exists on the part of the Turks, de facto. Their fleet exists no more. Take care of yours—for we will also destroy it, need be, to put a stop to a system of robbery on the high seas, which would end in your exclusion from the law of nations.

“ As the present provisional government is as weak as it is immoral, we address these final and irrevocable resolutions to the legislative body.

“ With respect to the prize court which it has instituted, we declare it incompetent to judge any of our vessels without our concurrence.

“ We have the honour to be, &c.”

The accounts which have reached this country of the state of Greece since the battle of Navarino, have been merely items, or particulars, principally concerning the deplorable condition of the inhabitants of that country. We have therefore at the present time no information by which a detail of the movements of the belligerent parties can be given. It does not appear that Lord Cochrane, after the battle of Nava-

ring, undertook or achieved any thing of much importance. General Church, in the course of the summer, divided the Greek army into small corps, under the form of the Spanish guerillas, and thus occupied the defiles of Thermopylæ, and the mountains of Phocis, in order to prevent the transportation of provisions to the Turks. Colocotroni at the same time occupied a military line from Argos to Corinth, in order to prevent as much as possible the communication of the Turks with each other.

The Acropolis of Athens surrendered to the Turks about mid-summer, the Greeks it appears being no longer able to hold out against numbers and famine. This surrender, however, was the cause of much difficulty, confusion, and bickering among the Greek populace. General Church, it appears, did not escape, in the outcry, for having given orders for its surrender, under certain circumstances, before he left Athens.

The French colonel Favier, who has heretofore been so honourably mentioned, suffered the vilest accusations, for having consented to the capitulation. The Greek captains who were with him in the Acropolis, signed an accusation against him, which they delivered to the government.

The Count Capo d'Istrias, has repeatedly been named in the beginning of this volume, but during the protracted struggle for freedom which his country has undergone, his name does not appear among the combatants. In 1827 he was called by the authorities of his country to assume the high responsibility of becoming President of Greece. This appointment it appears was made and forwarded to him while in Russia. The Count, though absent, has not been unmindful of the interests and welfare of his bleeding country, but has assisted her by his counsels, and the exercise of his influence abroad, in the procuring of funds for the maintenance of the war. The following notice of this distinguished man, is extracted from Niles' Register, for January, 1828, but on what authority is not mentioned.

“ This nobleman, who has lately been elected President of Greece, was born at Corfu, in the year 1776—a glorious year for the cause of freedom. His family had, from the year 1300, held an honourable place in the first class of citizens of the Seven Ionian Isles. He studied in the universities of Italy, and returned to his country in 1798, at the moment when the overthrow of the republic of Venice introduced into the Ionian Islands the democratic power of France.

He found his father a prisoner, and threatened by the French Commissary with banishment, on account, as it was said, of his political opinions. Count Capo d'Istria exerted himself with zeal and activity for the relief of his father, and had the good fortune to succeed. After the French had surrendered the island to the combined Russian and Ottoman fleets, and they had been formed into a republic under the joint protection of Russia and England, the Count, though still young, was employed in 1800 to organize the islands of Cephalonia, Ithica and St. Maura. This was the commencement of his political career. In 1802 he was appointed Secretary of State for the home department of the republic, and afterwards for foreign affairs, for the marine and for commerce. One of the most prominent acts of his administration was the establishment of moral schools, which had not before existed in the islands.

“ In 1807, the isle of St. Maura was threatened by Ali Pacha. The Ionian Government invested Count Capo d'Istria with the powers of Commissioner extraordinary on the frontiers, and placed under his orders all the militia in the service of the Allied Courts in the Seven Islands. In this campaign, under the cannon of Ali Pacha, Capo d'Istria became first known to the Greek captains, Colocotroni, Bozzaris, Karaiskaki, and other chiefs ; and at this epoch, his personal relations with the warlike part of Greece commenced. In July, 1808, he was invited to repair to St. Petersburg to be employed in the foreign department. Hither he went in 1809, and remained there until 1812. He was then employed in the suite of the Russian embassy at Vienna, whence he was summoned to discharge the functions of chief of the diplomatic department at the head of the Russian army of the Danube, and afterwards with the grand army. He continued with the army during the campaigns of 1813, 1814, and 1815, and took an active part in the most important negotiations of this memorable epoch. In November, 1813, the Emperor Alexander sent him to Switzerland. The result of this mission was, that Switzerland made common cause with the allied powers against Buonaparte ; and the system of Helvetic confederation, as it now exists, was in part his work, in concurrence with the ministers of the other allied courts, and of the 22 Cantons. Switzerland still feels for him a grateful affection. At the Congress of Vienna, during the Conference at Paris in 1815, and at Aix-la-Chapelle, Count Capo d'Istria, possessing all the confidence of Alexander,

was chosen to carry on the principal negotiations with the allied powers—negotiations which included those, the result of which was, the placing the Ionian Islands under the exclusive protection of Great Britain.

“ From 1816 to 1822, he exercised the functions of Secretary of State for foreign affairs in the Cabinet of the Emperor Alexander. In 1822, when the court of Russia adopted the Austrian system with regard to the affairs of the Levant and Greece, Count Capo resigned his office and returned to Switzerland, carrying with him marks of the unaltered kindness of the Emperor Alexander, and of the attachment of the most distinguished persons of Russia. In the beginning of the year 1826, he came to Paris, and it was then supposed that he then intended to return to Russia. He did not take the journey, however, until the month of May, 1827, and it was on his arrival in Russia, that he received the news of the choice which called him to the government of the affairs of Greece. After a residence of two months in Russia, he retraced his steps, and was in France at the last advices, having brought a decree whereby the Emperor Nicholas gives him a complete discharge from his service in terms which at once demonstrates the personal sentiments entertained by his sovereign towards him, and the character of the recollections he has left behind him in Russia.”

Perhaps no circumstance, short of the actual and acknowledged independence of Greece, could be of higher consequence to that country, than the appointment of Capo d'Istrias to be at the head of the government. Men of discernment, who have witnessed the distracted state of that country, and have been acquainted with the heads of the departments of government there, have lamented that a second Washington could not be placed over the councils of Greece. The former Presidents, though men of talent, and some of them of integrity, did not combine diplomatic experience and skill, with a mature knowledge of the European art of war. The state of Greece, both moral and political, requires for its President a man of the highest attainments in the art of government, combined with invincible firmness of character, and the greatest resources of mind. Count Capo d'Istria appears to be the only Greek, now living, who, at the head of affairs, could undertake the emancipation of his country with equal hopes of success.

On his appointment to his present situation, he addressed

the following letter to the heads of government, and to the Greek nation. It is dated London, August 28.

“ At the moment of quitting the Russian capital, I have received, through my brother, the messages which your excellency did me the honour to address to me, conjointly with the representatives of the nation, to communicate to me two decrees, one of which places me at the head of the Greek government, and the other invests me with the power to negotiate a loan. Ever since the month of May, and since my arrival at St. Petersburg, the public prints and private letters made me acquainted with the proof of confidence so flattering and so solemn, which the Greek nation had just given in my favour. I will not express to your excellency and your noble colleagues, either the sentiments which the decrees now before me inspire, or the prayers which I offer to the Almighty that he may bestow upon you, gentlemen, and upon me, strength to attain the object of the long and bloody sacrifices to which the Greek people have submitted, and to which it still submits in the hope of a final restoration. For the present, I shall confine myself to giving you an account, in a few words, of what I have succeeded in doing up to this time, and giving you the assurance of my entire devotion to the cause for the future.

“ On learning of the catastrophe of Athens, of the pecuniary embarrassment of the provisional Greek government, and of the sad necessity which forced it to contract a loan in the Ionian Islands, which could only have sufficed for a few days, I sent to my brother, as my only answer, the remnant of my moderate fortune. I instructed him to take a portion of that loan, if it had been negotiated, or to deposite in the hands of the provisional government the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, which I have placed at his disposal. At the same time, I proceeded to call on the Greeks, who possessed wealth in foreign lands, to follow this example, and to afford you some assistance. These measures have had some success, and the provisional government, in consequence, is in a condition to meet its most urgent wants, for the moment. I say for the moment ; for I flatter myself that by the aid of God and your wisdom, the Greek nation will shortly receive more important succour.

“ In the present state of things, this assistance, in order to *be effective*, ought to have a double object. It ought to draw *Greece* from its isolation, and put it in contact with the great *European* powers. It ought to procure for it the means of

existence, and of defending itself, till its government can introduce something like order into the external concerns of the nation, and put it in a situation to provide for itself. It is with these two great interests that I am now exclusively occupied, and with which I will still occupy myself when on my way to you I pass through Paris. Should heaven continue to bless my efforts, as it has blessed them up to this day, I dare indulge the hope, that it will be merit to offer you some consolation, and that the Greek nation will not refuse to me the powers which I ask, to regulate, in the legal exercise of the honourable functions which it offers me, all the necessary arrangements with the courts which interest themselves in its behalf.

“ I will not lose a moment, for time passes from day to day, to decide for Greece the question of life or death. Doubtless, the event is in the hands of God ; but let us not dissemble, that much depends on you, gentlemen, to render it propitious. Be assured, such it will prove, if, faithful to the immutable principles of our holy religion, you labour unanimously, and with good faith, for our common safety, some in carrying arms, not only with devotion and courage, but with a perfect subordination to the orders of your chiefs ; others in administering the affairs of the country, for, and not for or against particular individuals or particular interests.

“ I pause here, and I resign, gentlemen, to your wisdom and your patriotism, the care of weighing the immense responsibility which falls on your heads. I shall have the honour to share it with you ; but I hesitate not to repeat here, that I cannot share it with you, till after you shall have heard me ; and that I myself shall have obtained from you all the confidence which I wish to inspire.

“ Receive, &c.

(Signed)

“ CAPO D'ISTRIA.”

By accounts from Greece, in February, 1828, it appeared that the Count had already effected an almost entire change in the military aspect of the troops under his charge. It appears, states this account, that Count Capo d'Istria was engaged about that time in an important military operation, which would require the whole military and naval force of Greece, and that orders had been sent to all the military commanders to act for the execution of a common plan. A corps of 4,000 infantry near Froezene had assembled, another corps of 1,800 near Napoli was to assemble, and a third,

consisting of troops of all descriptions, was to occupy a place near Corinth. All these were employed in preparations for active service. Similar orders are said to have been sent to General Church, who was then at a position near Dragomestre. Count Capo embarked in February for Porous, taking with him all the Greek, as well as foreign ships which were in the harbour of Egina. A new life, says the account, appears to animate the whole population of Greece, and the dangerous spirit of insubordination appears to have left the troops, since the President takes care that they receive their pay punctually, and even distributes presents on every occasion, when they perform any thing remarkable. Among the Arabs and Turks, on the contrary, all discipline has vanished, to which the battle of Navarino, and the distress which the troops suffer, have contributed. Whole bands of Turkish marauders are said now to be met with in the Morea, who traverse the country in search of plunder, under leaders of their own choosing. The Turkish fortresses are likewise said to be in a suffering condition for want of provisions. It is therefore believed, that Ibrahim will soon be obliged to leave the Morea, to save himself, or at least his military reputation.

We have here only to add some account of the donations sent from this country to Greece. In the spring of 1827. five large vessels, loaded with provisions and clothing for the relief of the destitute and naked Greeks, sailed from this country. This large amount, valued at about 100,000 dollars, consisted entirely of the voluntary contributions of benevolent individuals, and charitable societies, chiefly in the northern states. Two of these vessels sailed from New-York, two from Philadelphia, and one from Boston. Intelligent agents from this country proceeded with these supplies to whom were entrusted the pleasant duty of a gratuitous distribution of them, in such a manner, as would best serve the cause of humanity.

In 1828, the value of the supplies, received by the Greek Committee of New-York, up to the time of the sailing of the brig Herald, and in her forwarded to Greece, was as follows: The amounts are in money, provisions, and clothing.

From the State of New-York,	\$38,573 46
“ “ Connecticut,	11,869 89
“ “ Massachusetts,	3,152 54
“ “ Maryland,	2,459 80
“ “ Rhode Island,	1,948 25
“ “ New Jersey,	1,217 17
“ “ Vermont,	517 32
“ “ Virginia,	75 00
“ “ Ohio,	67 00
“ “ Upper Canada,	10 00

Total amount received by the } Committee to May 28, 1828, }	59 889 95*
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It is proper to remark, before closing this part of our volume, that the following pages contain matter which could not have been incorporated with the narrative of history of the revolution, except it were thrown into the form of notes, and for which purpose most of the extracts are quite too long. The volume, however, would have been incomplete, without the miscellaneous information here thrown together, since in that case many interesting observations and facts would have been suppressed.



CHAP. XXVI.

Conduct of European States in relation to Greece—Levantine Merchants and Jews—Moral condition of the Greeks—Calumnies on Greek character—Domestic manners and women of Greece—State of religion in Greece—Priests.

† “Having essayed, with however weak a pen, to trace the rise and progress of the Greek revolution, and to show what the energy of a small population, totally ignorant of the military art, undisciplined, unaided, and without a regular go-

* Niles' Register, for June, 1828

† The following judicious and sensible observations on the situation and affairs of Greece, are extracted from the work of Edward Blaquiére, Esq., author of two volumes on the present revolution. Mr. Blaquiére, it appears, besides his recent residence there, has been long personally acquainted with the condition of that country. The reader will observe that these remarks were written before the powers of Europe took any active part in the present struggle.

vernment, has been able to achieve over a power, which, little more than a century ago, laid siege to the capital of Austria, a no less interesting field of examination and inquiry presents itself in the religious and moral character of the Greek people; their means of consolidating that independence for which they have so gloriously struggled; and above all, the policy of the European cabinets and conduct of the Christian world generally towards a people, whose claims to sympathy and support have ever been, as they now are, incontrovertible. It being however suggested, that my return to Greece might be more beneficial to the sacred cause, than all I could publish on the subject, I most willingly yield to the opinion of my friends, and shall therefore only offer a few desultory remarks, where I would fain have entered into a much more elaborate detail.

“It may be truly said, that the most painful task which any future writer will have to perform, belongs to the historian of the Greek revolution. Without referring to what has been stated in the early part of these pages, to prove that the insurrection of Greece had nothing in common with the causes of revolt in other countries of Europe, however they may have been oppressed, and that it was consequently an act of the most palpable injustice to confound it with them, the number of eloquent pens which have proved this fact beyond any doubt, renders all further argument unnecessary. And yet, how will the future historian be able to record, that when after twenty centuries of tyranny and oppression, the descendants of Solon and Lycurgus, of Socrates and Plato, attempted to shake off a yoke the most barbarous and intolerable ever borne by man, the sovereigns and ministers of civilized Europe, who owed all they knew of civilization, arts or literature, to the genius of ancient Greece, not only branded the effort with the epithet of revolution, but did every thing short of open hostility, to prevent its success. But the task of the historian will not stop here; he will have to record, that in an age which boasted of its zeal in the cause of humanity and religion, three millions of Christians were left year after year, at the mercy of the whole Ottoman power; and that while the nations of Europe looked on the unequal struggle unmoved, thousands of their brethren were *consigned* to the most cruel deaths, while nothing but the *interposition* of Providence could have possibly saved the *Greek people* from extermination.

“As if it had not been enough, during this period of trial

and of suffering, unexampled in history, to watch the progress of the struggle with cold and callous indifference, and not unfrequently to persecute the ill-fated people who thus sought their regeneration, every effort, which malignity could invent or malice dictate, was made to represent them as a degenerate race, totally unworthy of sympathy or freedom. How often has it been asserted, that the struggle was between barbarians, and that it was therefore a matter of perfect indifference which party got the upper hand. Would it be possible to devise a more bitter satire against Christianity and the Christian potentates, than the virulent and gratuitous abuse heaped on the Greek people, by writers who either sought to gratify their passions, or fancied they were meeting the wishes of a patron in thus vilifying a whole people. Surely a moment's reflection must have convinced them, that to have left the Greek people so long at the mercy of their Mahometan tyrants, was the greatest proof they could adduce of degeneracy and imbecility on the part of those who were bound by every tie of religion and duty to save them!

“Independently of those causes which have placed the cabinets of Europe in such open enmity to Greece, and thus invited falsehood and calumny to depreciate claims which they were determined not to recognize, the Greeks have found virulent detractors in two classes, whose abuse ought to be rather considered as complimentary to their character than otherwise; since it has arisen from that grovelling and sordid spirit of trade, which cannot brook the thought of successful competition, conducted by superior talent. I allude to European traders who have formed factories at Smyrna, Constantinople, and other parts of the Mediterranean, and to the whole tribe of Jews.—And I am justified in stating, that these two classes have gone farther in their calumnies against the Greek people, than even their task-masters the Turks. It is needless to say more, in order to prove how far the trading spirit can vitiate the human mind. And yet, after all that has been said to depreciate them, it is a matter of incontrovertible notoriety, that the Greek merchants who have settled in the capitals and large trading towns of the continent, are remarkable for their probity and fair dealing. The fact of their coming in contact with the Jews and factors of the Levant, in the intercourse of the latter with the Mahometans, is of itself, more than sufficient

to account for the vindictive spirit with which they are pursued. How can it therefore be matter of wonder, that while the Jews of Constantinople, Salonica, and Smyrna, have seized every opportunity of co-operating in the cruelties of the Turks, the Europeans settled in these places have, without any exception of country, been the carriers and most active agents of the Infidels ever since the war commenced.

“ Although the contest has been marked by many excesses, to most of which allusion has been made in the proper place, yet surely, the events of this war furnish ample proof that the Greeks are not the degenerate people which their detractors have laboured to represent them! Without recurring to individual acts of heroism and virtue, of which numerous examples might be cited, their constancy and resignation under unheard of privations and sufferings, deserve the highest praise, and could only be sustained by a people far above the ordinary class.

“ To say that a system of the cruellest slavery, under rulers the most vitiated and corrupt, from the days of the lower empire, through the debauched and sanguinary catalogue of the Greek Emperors, down to the worst of all denominations of that of the Turks, has not engendered many very formidable vices, would be to assert that the laws of nature and experience of history had made an exception in favour of the Greeks, and excepted them from effects as inevitable as they are irresistible. What, however, would the philanthropist say, and how ought he to draw his conclusion? Surely the wonder with him is, not so much that the Greeks have contracted some vices, as that they have any thing in the shape of virtue remaining!

“ But after all these unworthy attempts to depreciate and calumniate a people who have been so long the sport of a cruel tyranny, what will the impartial and liberal minded of Europe say, if, on any future occasion, a writer should prove by argument and fact, that assuming the immense superiority of ancient Greece over all other nations to be a matter of course, the moral and physical degradation of the Greeks is infinitely less than that of any other people of Europe?

“ Although my intercourse with this people did not date from my late visit to the Morea, I am far from thinking myself capable of doing justice to a subject which might well occupy the attention of the most philosophic observer, as it would unquestionably be an inquiry of the deepest interest, not only enabling us to estimate the manners and institutions

of ancient times, but also to appreciate their effect in perpetuating the moral and physical attributes of a people.

“ Nor is it my intention minutely to analyse the Greek character. In asserting that industry, sobriety, and abstemiousness are its most prominent features, surely a foundation is laid on which all the minor virtues may be raised. To the foregoing traits, which are proverbial in the national character of the Greeks, may be added their exemplary conduct as fathers, husbands, and brothers : of this, the present contest has afforded such proofs, as no other nation ever exhibited ; and such indeed, as were never surpassed in the proudest days of Grecian or Roman history. Circumscribed as my personal observation must have been during my late visit, I was frequently astonished at the readiness with which the most perfect strangers ministered to each other’s necessities. But, besides the numberless proofs of generosity and kindness between individuals, the conduct of thousands in devoting their all to the wants of the state, places the Greek character in a still more exalted point of view. Many names could be cited of persons, who had realized handsome fortunes in trade, having presented the whole to their country when the insurrection broke out, merely reserving the bare means of existence for themselves. And when it is considered that in regard to worldly advantages, the inhabitants of the naval islands were sure to lose by the contest, what can be more disinterested or praiseworthy, than the sacrifices they have made in keeping their ships at sea for three successive years, without having as yet received the smallest remuneration ?* ”

* In paying this tribute, which I believe to be fully merited by the great mass of the Greek people, I do not mean to deny that there is much, very much to correct in the national character. It was impossible to live so long under the Turkish yoke, and be so completely subjected to the caprice of their savage task-masters, and not to imbibe many of their customs. While at Tripolizza, I took every opportunity I could of suggesting that the most strenuous efforts of the government and leading men, should be directed to this object. The reply was however so conclusive, that it left me without the means of urging any further objections. “ We lament all this, as much as you can, and are most anxious to remove every thing which can remind us of the dreadful state from which we have emerged :—but besides the fact of our having no present means of adopting European customs, the whole of our attention is necessarily absorbed by the paramount object of consolidating the social edifice.” I found an able and eloquent supporter in Father Theodosius, a priest of considerable learning, who never entered

“ The intellectual qualities of the Greeks are not less striking and conspicuous than those which I have mentioned. They are principally displayed in their aptitude for agriculture, commerce, and navigation, and, whenever the advantages of education are afforded, in acquiring all the higher branches of knowledge. The peasantry have gone farther in the art of civilization than any other people of Europe, considering their limited means ; and whenever they happen to be employed in learning the imitative arts, their progress seems to be quite intuitive. It cannot be too often repeated, as illustrative of the national character generally, that the Greek peasant and soldier will undergo fatigues and privations, without murmuring, upon such scanty means, as would exhaust the natives of any other country in Europe.*

a society, in which he found his countrymen seated cross-legged and sipping their coffee in the manner of the Turks, without inveighing bitterly against so barbarous a custom, and calling on his countrymen to recollect that they had sprung from the great masters of civilization, and re-entered the great European family. It is a fact worthy of remark, that the primates are more prone to Turkish customs of every kind, than any other class of Greeks.

* Such is the tenacity and firmness of the Greek character, that there is reason to believe the people have preserved much more of their ancient usages and manners than any other nation in the world. Many of the traits, noticed in Barthelemy's excellent work, are hourly witnessed by travellers in the present day. And with respect to the physical conformation of the Greeks, it has been preserved to a surprising degree of exactness. It has been somewhere observed that the figure and physiognomy of the Greeks, are different from those of every other people. In agreeing with this assertion, it might be added, that nature seems to have exhausted all her power in the human figure, as it is to be found to this day, among all classes of the people. No wonder that sculpture should have made so great a progress, and attained such a degree of perfection, when the models were abundant and beautiful. Those who have compared the present form of the Greeks, with their master-pieces in sculpture, cannot deny that an artist of the present day might find models for the Apollo Belvidere, Melcager and Gladiator, in almost every town and village of the confederation. Though, like every thing else which gave Greece such pre-eminence over the ancient world, painting and sculpture be now lost, it is only necessary to travel through the Peloponnesus, to be convinced with what facility they may revive in a country, which is replete with the most sublime and beautiful scenes of nature at every step.

“ With respect to the habits of the lower classes, it should be observed that, as in ancient times, the labours of the field are indifferently partaken, by men and women. The lighter portion, such as reaping, weeding, and hoeing, being of course allotted to the weaker sex. Unprovided with manufactures, the resources of a Greek family, whether

“ Whenever circumstances admit of their return, Greece will boast a very brilliant catalogue of men, highly distin-

among the peasantry, or in the middling walk of life, up to the highest rank, might well surprise our English matrons. In the lowest class almost every cotta e is furnished with its loom, oven, and mills, while every member of the family is taught the use of the distaff. I ought not to pass by this class, without bearing testimony to that admirable constancy with which they have borne up against the innumerable evils of their situation, preserving all the pristine virtues of hospitality, and an urbanity of manners not exceeded by any other people of Europe. If they are superstitious, the fault is not theirs, but that of teachers, who have in Greece, as in other countries, converted religion into an instrument of worldly profit and personal ambition.

Some account of the family, with which I resided while at Tripolizza will afford a fair specimen of the middling class of society in Greece. It consisted of the proprietor who was an opulent merchant before the contest commenced, and is still engaged in trade; his wife and four children, of whom three were daughters, who might, in other days, have served as models to Zeuxis or Praxiteles.—Each of the latter has her regular duties assigned to her, either in the kitchen, at the loom, embroidering, needle-work, or the washing tub! It is easy to conceive how an English mother would be astonished to see the youngest of these, scarcely yet in her ninth year, a perfect sylph in form and agility, occupied in all the business of house-keeping. The eldest, who was in her fourteenth year, had been betrothed for some time, and has probably been ere now led to the hymeneal altar. Young as she was then, the bridal clothes and household linen, nearly all made and woven by her own hands, were ready; she gave me specimens of her weaving in silk, that would not disgrace our best artizans of Spitalfields. The whole of this amiable and interesting family, whose attentions were unceasing, vied with each other in civilities to Luriottis, who also resided in the same house as myself.

The education of these girls, besides a thorough knowledge of domestic concerns, does not go beyond reading, writing, and a limited share of arithmetic: and I could perceive from their natural aptness, as well as the eagerness with which they sought for information on every point connected with the manners and usages of other nations, that they were capable of rapid advancement in all those accomplishments which give our women the superiority.

What the venerable and virtuous Bishop of Blois calls domesticity, and has made the subject of his valuable essay, is no where on so good a footing as in Greece. The practice of sending their children out to be nursed, is scarcely ever resorted to by Greek mothers; where a weak constitution, or other causes, renders it necessary to have recourse to a nurse, she is brought into the house, and rarely quits it till death, or ill health, compels her to leave it. The Greek nurse, becomes, in fact, completely identified with the family, and what is more, her husband is either generally employed in the house, or at all events, by the master of the family. But the ties between the master and servants do not stop here. The children of the nurse, if not very numerous, are

guished in all the walks of literature and science; and it will certainly be a triumphant day, when schools and colleges begin to rear their heads amidst the ignorance and darkness to which she has been condemned for so many ages.

“ With respect to the women of Greece; I have on a former occasion borne testimony to their excellent qualities, and I will challenge any other nation, to furnish a more engaging catalogue of domestic virtues than is to be found in that country; nor are these confined to a particular class; they pervaded the whole frame of society. Although it is true that the calumniators of the Greeks have chiefly confined their strictures to those who come in contact with their mercantile views, it is yet but justice to repeat, the graces of modesty, gentleness of manner, benevolence and resignation under the severest trials, are no where more practised than among the women of Greece.

“ In alluding to the vices of the Greek, a most instructive lesson might be drawn from tracing their perfect analogy to the system of government under which they have groaned during the last four centuries. When the wanton cruelty and habitual extortion of their Turkish masters are considered, can it for one moment be a matter of surprise, if the Greeks are suspicious, vindictive, jealous, and avaricious? Was not the

brought up in the house, and treated with almost the same attention as those of her mistress.—The servant who attended us at Tripolizza had been twenty-one years in the family, and had nursed all the children, while her daughter a child of seven years' old, was on a perfect equality with the rest.

I have already had occasion to observe, that hundreds of Turkish children, whose parents have either fled or perished since the Revolution, have been adopted in Greek families of every class. The gaiety and cheerfulness which form so distinguished a feature in the national character of Greece, were exemplified in the amusements of this family, where the song, the dance, and the gambol filled up almost every moment that was abstracted from the more solid occupations of the domestic circle. I regret to say that music is in as backward a state in Greece, as painting and sculpture.

The religious duties of the above family were performed in the house most scrupulously, twice every day during my stay, and in adding that the greatest harmony seemed to prevail, it is equally due to the excellent Giorgio Joannis to state, that in the whole of my intercourse with society, I never met a family possessing more apparent goodness of heart, modesty, and propriety of conduct, than his amiable wife and fascinating daughters.”

whole of their time passed in devising means of avoiding those acts of violence and oppression, which were invariably hatched in secret, and suddenly inflicted. Did a day pass without some vexation, calculated to awaken vengeance; and what could be more natural than to contract a fondness for that, which they were in constant fear of losing through fraud or force?

“ Candour requires it to be acknowledged, that neither the conduct of the cabinets towards Greece, since her resuscitation, nor that of her Christian brethren generally, is by any means calculated to render them less suspicious; nor will the other vices with which they are charged, be ever removed, until institutions and a system of general education shall have obliterated the baleful impressions of tyranny and misrule.

“ It has been a too prevalent custom with writers, who have written in favour of the Greek cause, to admit the degeneracy of the people, and argue on it, as if all that had been circulated by the enemies of the Greeks were perfectly true. The same error has been fallen into, with regard to the Greek church, and such is the ignorance on the subject in England, that it is not unusual for the people gravely to ask whether the Greeks are Christians? I have endeavoured to show that with the exception of their cruelty to the Turks, which is from the nature of things ungovernable and unconquerable, there is as much, if not more virtue among the Greek peasantry, than any other of Europe. It is probable that the Greek church would bear a comparison with that of every other Christian sect. Like all others, the heads of the Greek hierarchy maintain that they have departed less from the doctrines and rites of the primitive church, than any other class of Christians whatever, and that the superstitions of the Greek church are fewer. That Christianity has suffered, both in the letter and practice, in Greece, as well as other places, need not be wondered at, when all the vicissitudes to which it has been exposed, are taken into the account. It is greatly to the credit of the Greek clergy, that with the exception of the most ignorant portion of the caloyers, or itinerant preachers, they are sensible of the defects which time has produced; and that they regard the political regeneration of Greece, as the certain prelude to a reform in the Greek church.*

*“ *In deducing themselves against the aspersions which are con-*

" Upon the whole, while I do not deny that many of the vices inseparable from slavery, may be laid to the charge of a people, which has not only been exposed to the most degrading domination ever experienced by any nation, but has been grossly calumniated by those co-religionists who had abandoned them to their fate; I maintain that the abuses of united government and religion have done infinitely less towards debasing the Greek character, than they have in any country in Europe.*

stantly cast on their superstition and form of worship, the Greeks boast, and justly so, that the absurd dogma of purgatory has never formed any part of their belief, nor has their ritual been disgraced by that unintelligible mixture of ethics and fanaticism called the creed of Saint Athanasius, which continues to do such irreparable injury to Protestantism.

" M. de Stourdza, known by his political pamphlets written under the auspices of the Emperor Alexander, has also published a polemical tract, in which he vindicates the Greek church, and endeavours to prove that it is the only one which has retained the letter and spirit of that established by Christ, and preached by his disciples. The supremacy of the Pope, and mode in which it was acquired, are ably treated by the author.

" It is somewhat ludicrous to hear the members of the Greek persuasion called schismatics by their Catholic rivals, while they in their turn regard Catholicism as a complete perversion of Christianity. It is worthy of remark that there is only one class of sectarians in the Greek church: this forms a very small proportion of the community, and is known in Greece by the name of the *united*: it merely acknowledges the papal supremacy, which forms the only difference between its tenets and those of the Greek church. Among the projects formed at Rome, since the insurrection of Greece broke out, it is said that every effort will be made to bring the schismatics over to the true faith. Whether it arose from any ulterior views of this sort, or the characteristic benevolence of Pius VII. the mild and humane policy adopted by that Pontiff, towards the unfortunate Greeks, who sought a refuge at Ancona, during his life time, forms the best panegyric of the late Holy Father. Nor should the name of Monsignor Benvenuti, the papal delegate at Ancona, be deprived of that praise which is so justly due to him, for the readiness he invariably evinced, in carrying the wishes of his master into effect."

*** It is truly pleasing to be enabled to give the opinion formed by such a discriminating writer, as Mr. Galt, in contradiction to the trite calumnies and miserable verbiage of Sir William Gell, and many others, who have laboured to depreciate the Greek character. " If I were called upon," says Mr. Galt, in his letters from the Levant, " to give a general opinion of the Greeks, as they are at this moment, I should find myself obliged to declare, notwithstanding my partiality for my own countrymen, that in point of capacity, they are the first people I have had an opportunity of observing. They have generally more**

CHAP. XXVIII.

Population of Greece estimated.—Revenue and Resources.—Comparison between Monarchical and Federal Government, as applicable to Greece.—Foreign Interference.—Internal Dissensions.—Consideration of the idea entertained of accommodation and submission to the Porte.—Results to be anticipated from the establishment of a powerful Independent State in Greece.—Policy of Continental Powers and interest of England in such establishment considered.

“ * So contradictory are the accounts, and uncertain the data hitherto supplied with regard to the population of Greece, that it would be altogether impossible to attempt any thing more than an approximation to this primary source of national wealth and greatness. If an estimate was difficult before the insurrection, it has been much more so since, owing to the fact of whole communities having been either swept away by

acuteness and talent than I can well describe. I do not mean information or wisdom : but only this, that their actions are, to a surprising degree of minuteness, guided by judgment. They do nothing without having reflected on the consequences.” This energetic sketch of the Greeks is drawn to the life. But I cannot deny myself the pleasure of following it up with a few lines extracted from the *Scotsman*, a paper which has been highly distinguished for the strength and eloquence of its articles on the Greek cause. After inserting the above remarks of Mr. Galt, the writer observes, “ Instead of raising an outcry about their degradation, we may rather wonder that the national genius has triumphed so much over the disadvantages of its situation. What other people, placed under the barbarising yoke of the Turks, has retained or acquired the tenth part of their activity, intelligence and civilization ? amidst all their misfortunes, they have never forgotten their country ; and humiliating as their lot has been, they are still proud of their name and lineage. Considering the Turks as intruders, they have never renounced the hope of seeing them expelled, nor have they relied on foreign aid : on the contrary, sensible that knowledge and union are the sources of strength, they have laboured incessantly to spread the means of information ; they have established schools, translated French and English works into Romaic, and by drawing the attention of their countrymen to their ancient history, they have taught them what Greece may become by her own resources, and kindled in them an emulation of the spirit of their ancestors. While we speak of their protracted slavery, we should not forget its cause. Had they yielded up their faith as easily as the clergy of England did in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, they would have escaped that oppression at the

* Blaquiere, vol. 1. p. 300.

massacres, or forced to change their position, and seek a refuge in foreign countries. The number of Greeks in the Morea, for instance, which did not exceed a hundred and fifty thousand previous to the war, has now been more than doubled by the arrivals from every quarter of the confederation, notwithstanding the ravages to which the whole of Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia, has been subjected. I should, from all the inquiries I have been enabled to make, estimate the number of Greeks in these three divisions of the confederation at a million of souls. Livadia, Attica, and Negropont, are said by well informed Greeks to contain three hundred thousand souls, thus making a grand total for continental Greece of one million six hundred thousand, a number which I feel assured will be found under-rated whenever the census contemplated by the Provisional Government shall be taken.

With respect to the Islands of the Archipelago, those gems of the Mediterranean, so sanctified by every glorious and delightful recollection, so richly endowed with all that constitutes strength and beauty, there is less difficulty in stating the number of their inhabitants, since no material change has been effected in their numbers by the war. Candia alone, unquestionably the most prolific and beautiful spot on earth for its extent, contains at least two hundred thousand Greeks. The population of the other Islands, including Cyprus, Rhodes and Mytilene, three points of infinite wealth and importance, may be estimated at four hundred thousand souls. If to the foregoing calculation be added above a million and a half scattered about in the principalities, Asia Minor, Thrace, Bulgaria, and the different countries of Europe, the

hands of the Turks, and that abuse at the hands of some of their brother Christians, which their constancy has entailed on them.

“The following anecdote, illustrative of the veneration in which the Greeks held the immortal bard of Scio, is extracted from an account of the expedition sent into the Mediterranean in 1789, under Orloff.

“Captain Plagent, who commanded one of the ships in this expedition, going on shore at Naxos, took an old school edition of the *Iliad*, which he happened to have on board, and showed it to some of the natives, who begged it of him with the most earnest importunity. The Captain complied with their wishes; and on going on shore again the next day, he saw an old man with his back to a wall reading the speeches of the ancient Greek heroes with all the fury of declamation, to an audience of fourteen or fifteen persons!”†

† *Blaquiere*, vol. 1. p. 283—298.

whole number of Greeks may, for the present at least, be given at four millions. Of the Greeks thus dispersed, it is well known that numbers are continually flocking to the standard of independence, and that such is the anxiety of these people to re-establish themselves, that there is every probability of those who are now retained in distant points, gaining the confederation as soon as the situation of affairs and their circumstances will admit. Indeed it is not likely that any Greek would remain under the sway of Turkey or Russia, while freedom and regeneration invited their return to the most desirable region and finest climate in the world.

Should the people of Greece secure the advantages they have gained, it is surely no exaggeration to say, that, with a population at once so ingenious and industrious, a climate unequalled, and a soil the most productive that could be named, their prospect of wealth and prosperity is almost boundless. In whatever direction a traveller casts his eyes over Greece, he may truly exclaim, that it is a land flowing with milk and honey; unlike the staples of other countries, those of Greece are such as can never be depreciated. Cambrics, sugar, coffee, cochineal, and indigo, may be either dispensed with, or be so plentiful as to glut the market: not so with the corn, wine, and oil; the silks and wools of Greece: these will find a sure sale while civilization and its concomitants, trade and population, continue to advance.* However invidious it may be thought to institute a compari-

* Nothing but the immense resources of Greece, could have enabled her to carry on a contest by sea and land against the whole power of the Porte, supported, as it has been, by the agents of foreign powers, and those sordid traders of Smyrna, Constantinople, and Zante, who have been the suppliers and carriers to the infidels ever since the commencement of the struggle; and, when it is considered that the Greeks have maintained the war for nearly three years, without contracting a single debt abroad, or having recourse to a foreign loan, our wonder must be still greater.

If any thing were wanting to prove the total ignorance in which the public continues with regard to the state of Greece generally, it would be found in the depreciation experienced by the small sum of 800,000*l.* recently negotiated on our own stock exchange by my excellent friends Messrs. Orlando and Luriottis; a sum which the smallest island in the Archipelago would be justified in borrowing, and fully able to repay.

It is confidently asserted that the depreciation in the Greek loan has been caused by the insinuations of a leading Jew capitalist; if so, nothing can be so unworthily or illiberal. Surely that person must know that of all the countries or governments who have borrowed money in London within the last ten years, not excepting those for whom he has

son between the Greeks and those nations of the southern hemisphere, who have shaken off a yoke scarcely less galling than that of the infidels, the immense superiority of the former, in almost every quality and attribute required by those who would enter the arduous career of national independence, must strike the most superficial observer. In a moral point of view, tyranny, though it may have trod upon the people of Greece, and made them suffer every species of violence, it neither broke their spirit, nor made them forget their glorious ancestry; while it is but an act of justice to admit, that Christianity, however degenerate in their hands, did not become the source of incalculable crime or the universal sapper of morality and virtue. Whether I look to the hardy population of Greece, fitted alike for war or agriculture; to her marine of several thousand ships, and above twenty thousand seamen, the most expert in Europe, or to her bays and harbours, more numerous and magnificent than any other country on earth, I should have no hesitation whatever in estimating the physical strength of regenerated Greece to be fully equal to that of the whole South American continent.

It was my intention to have entered into a minute examination of the policy adopted by the members of the Holy Alliance and our own ministers, towards Greece, since the commencement of her eventful struggle; but as this would lead into details for which there is neither time nor space left me at present, it must, like many other points, be reserved for future discussion.

While the provisional government and people of Greece

himself been the agent and contractor, Greece possesses the surest and most ample means of repayment.

Is it not enough, I would ask, that the Jews should have borne so conspicuous a part in the massacres of Constantinople, Smyrna, and Salonica, without attempting to injure the fame and blast the hopes of the Greek people in England? And what construction can be put on such conduct, when it is asserted that the only hope the Jews have of being ever re-established on the soil of their ancestors, depends on the consolidation of a power in Greece? Paradoxical as the project of restoring the race of Abraham and Isaac may appear, it has been entertained, and propositions on the subject reached the provisional government during my visit to the Morea; not with any view of their being carried into immediate effect, for that was impossible, but as a matter for future consideration. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the jealousy and *hatred* which has long prevailed between the two sects, and which the *atrocious* conduct of the Jewish rabble of the capital, Macedon, and *Asia Minor*, has tended to increase tenfold, render an early approximation quite impracticable.

are full of gratitude towards those generous spirits of Europe, who have come forward to soothe and assist them in this great trial of suffering and of sorrow, they know how to discriminate between the cabinets, allotting to each that share of obloquy which has fixed an indelible stain on statesmen, who could have so far misconceived the interests of Europe and of mankind, as to endeavour to thwart the success of a design, in which the interposition of the Divinity is, perhaps, more self-evident than in any other that could be cited. Looking too at the political system adopted since the fall of Napoleon, and the monstrous doctrines not only promulgated, but put into practice, from the partitions and spoliations decreed at Vienna in 1816, up to the invasion of Naples and subjugation of Spain in the present year, well may the Greeks look forward with mingled distrust and apprehension, lest, when they shall have fought the battle and gained the victory, others may come in and enjoy the triumph.

Although I cannot believe in the possibility of such an event, it would surely be a more scandalous violation of justice and natural right, than has disgraced the annals of Europe since the partition of Poland, were any of the great powers, either singly or together, to come forward in the present stage of the Greek contest, and dictate a form of government to the people of Greece; much less to name a person to preside over their destinies. In allusion to those vague reports which are seldom without some foundation, either in the never ceasing projects of those who make a trade of human liberty, or among the statesmen who move the springs of the Holy Alliance, it is, at least, due to the Greeks, that careful inquiry should be made as to the genius and habits of the people, as well as their general interests and wishes, before any attempt be made to introduce the monarchical system among them. So far as my own observation and inquiry have extended, I should not hesitate to say, that any departure from the federative system of Switzerland will be attended with positive injury to Greece, and will totally neutralize all the beneficial effects to be anticipated from her regeneration. Though it may be safely asserted that the Greek people possess less of the revolutionary spirit, attributed to them by the Emperor Alexander and the Congress of Verona, than any other nation of Europe, it is equally true that there are no elements in Greece for establishing a monarchy. To say nothing of the endless expense and complicated machinery of such a government, where could a prince sent into Greece

by the Holy Alliance, find an aristocracy? With the exception of the primates, whose character has been drawn in a former chapter, the most perfect equality reigns throughout all classes, though this never degenerates into anarchy or a due want of respect. In addition to what has been said of the primates, it should be here observed, that from the former connection with the Turks, and their ready acquiescence in carrying the system of tyranny and extortion of the infidels into effect, they are, with a few honourable exceptions, regarded as the greatest obstacles to the happiness of Greece and the consolidation of the government. Supposing, for a moment, that the great powers contemplate placing a sovereign over the Greek people, would it be wise or politic to confer titles and distribute ribbons to some of the worst men and most unpopular individuals in the country? In rejecting their services, on the other hand, he would create such a number of vindictive and powerful enemies, as might neutralize all his efforts to do good, if it did not endanger his power. For these men, in addition to their being deeply versed in the low intrigue and artful chicane, which so frequently find their way into courts, and compose all the political knowledge of the men to whom I allude, have contrived to possess themselves of nearly all the wealth of the nation. The condition of a prince who should come to Greece, followed by a train of greedy and rapacious dependants, such as he might so easily select in any part of civilized Europe, may be readily conceived, and requires no comment.

While the disjointed and isolated nature of the Greek provinces, must add greatly to the difficulties of establishing a monarchy, by destroying that principle of unity so essential to such a form of government, this circumstance is highly favourable to the federate system, which can be maintained at a comparatively trifling expense, while it gives that dignity to each section of the confederation, without which, I really believe the Greeks would never appreciate the blessings of independence and freedom. In closing the few remarks which I am now enabled to offer on the above important subject, it may be proper to add, that I am convinced I have expressed the universal sense of the Greek people, in recommending a federative rather than a monarchical form of government.

Among other objections urged against the Greeks being able to constitute themselves into a nation, it has been said that there is not a sufficient share of talent amongst their

public men to fill the offices, or wield the energies of a regular government; that they are distracted among themselves; that nothing but foreign interference will enable them to obtain the blessings of regular government. With respect to the first objection, I admit that it would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to find the train of placemen included within the catalogue of ministers, secretaries, chamberlains, clerks, and that interminable list of *employés* required in a monarchy; but let the federative system, the best and cheapest of all governments, be established, and Greece will be found to possess a far greater portion of really learned and well educated men, than the whole of the South American republics put together.*

The dissensions of Greece have been a fertile source of delight to the enemies of the cause without, as, it must be confessed, they are one of its most corroding gangrenes within. But setting aside those innumerable causes of disunion arising from the late system, which was a refinement on the maxim of *divide et impera*, so well known in other countries of Europe, a system which laboured to place every family in hostility with each other, and would not allow harmony to exist, is it for the politicians of Europe, where faction and party reign triumphant, to reproach a people with their divisions, who have thrown off a yoke like that of Turkey, and been left to struggle for existence during three years, without aid from any quarter? While those dissensions cannot be too deeply implored, it is of importance to state, that they

* Although general politics have occupied a greater share of attention in Greece than the mere abstract branches of legislation, still have many of the Greek students profited largely by the most popular and celebrated writers on public law and civil rights. The favourite authors are Vattel, Montesquieu, Felangieri, and Bentham, and their works are to be found in several collections. Like the lamented Lord Erskine, whose devotion in the cause of Greece shed such a bright halo round the last days of that great and good man, Mr. Bentham has given up all the energies of his powerful mind to the subject; and though Greece may not be enabled to profit by his sublime and benevolent labours so soon as the friends of humanity could wish, she already appreciates their value, with a degree of gratitude and zeal that does her public men and citizens the very highest honour.

Here I would have most willingly stopped to give some account of those men in Greece whose talents and virtues deserve to be better known in Europe; but want of time obliges me to defer the pleasure I should have derived from the performance of so pleasing a duty, till a future day, which is not, I trust, far distant.

In contemplating the probable future destinies of Greece, that is to say, should she be permitted to march onwards towards the goal of freedom and civilization undisturbed, a vast and highly interesting prospect opens to view : this is indeed so extensive and interwoven with all the great interests of society, that a man who indulged in a tenth part of the speculations to which a consideration of the subject gives rise, might well be taken for a visionary, even at a time when the most wild and improbable schemes are not without their admirers and advocates.

Confining myself to the obvious and inevitable results of a Greek empire, founded on the basis of rational freedom and social order, it may surely be hailed as the natural prelude to spreading the seeds of knowledge and civilization throughout the fairest portions of the earth, and which, though so near Europe, have not advanced a single step in either, ever since the establishment of Mahometanism; a religion framed as if had been intended to brutalize the human species, and deprive man of all that distinguishes him from the most abject of created beings. With respect to the effects of the Greek revolution in promptly extending the lights of civilization to Asia and Africa, I feel so confident on the subject, that I do not hesitate to prophecy that a very short period must elapse before it seems self evident to the most short-sighted politician, while those who are watching the progress of events in the Mediterranean, already perceive the benign effects of the Greek struggle. Is it for a moment to be imagined, that the successive defeats of those ill-fated hordes whom the Porte has sacrificed year after year in this war, have not been attributable as much to a consciousness that they were contending against justice and virtue, as to their natural incapacity and cowardice?—Though it may be impossible to give these wretched instruments of tyranny and brute force credit for reflection or foresight, yet are there good grounds for believing, that even the Turk-

above observation may not be construed into any disrespect for the opinions of those who once thought that terms could be made between the Greeks and their tyrants; Mr. C. B. Sheridan was one of those who alluded to the above plan in his able and elegant pamphlet, but has not hesitated to adopt those modifications rendered expedient by subsequent events. I may be here permitted to congratulate the country on possessing a young man who seems to have inherited all those qualities of the head and heart which have conferred immortality on his late father.

ish soldiery has began to think. There has most assuredly been ample cause for this desideratum, and should all I have heard on the subject be true, Europe will not have long to await the consequence. Hopeless as the case may be, who knows but that the miracle of witnessing the sanguinary and destructive doctrines of Mahomet melt away before the light of truth and reason, will yet be added to that of the regeneration of Greece; and surely the most distant probability of such a triumph—a triumph to which all other triumphs would be insignificant, ought to be more than sufficient to open the eyes of the European monarchs, stimulating them to go hand in hand in promoting, instead of thwarting that which could only emanate from a great and omnipotent God, who, whatever sophists may say, or philosophers dream, is *not* indifferent to the happiness of his creatures!

The minor interests of the three great Powers most deeply interested in the result of the Greek struggle, though trifling compared with the foregoing considerations, are still highly important, and deserve to be treated with great delicacy, and judgment, to prevent a collision, not less fatal to the interests of humanity than subversive of the peace of Europe. As to the Porte, the person who would say that its power is any thing more than nominal, might well be accused of something beyond a wish to deceive. It is equally certain, that after having been tolerated for three centuries by the mistaken policy or imbecility of its neighbours, it is now so reduced as to render the final crumbling of the crazy and unnatural edifice neither remote nor problematical. The great question which arises, and it is a most difficult one, who is to occupy the ground? Aware of the inconveniences which would necessarily attend too great an extension of their frontier line, the provisional government, as well as the best politicians in Greece, have decided that the Axios or Vandar, which separates Thessaly from Macedon, is their best and safest line of demarcation in the north, while they cannot leave those Islands of the Archipelago in which the Greek population predominates, without a dereliction of religion and duty. Should this line be conceded, as there is no doubt of its ultimate conquest, an immense and fertile territory will still remain in the hands of the Turks, and may be retained by the Porte until the arrival of one of those shocks, which it would be arguing a total ignorance of probabilities and natural march of human events not to anticipate.

Taking it for granted, that Turkey will be allowed to abide

those chances to which the best established governments are liable ; for in losing Greece, she has only followed the fate of England and France with regard to North America and St. Domingo, with the very natural difference that the Christian powers had some rights over colonies of their own creation ; I can only now foresee a source of dispute in the arrangements with regard to the principalities on the east, and of Bosnia and Servia on the north. However desirable the friends of peace and freedom may be, to check the growing and inevitable power of Russia, it is surely most selfish and ungenerous, to prefer seeing the Turkish yoke prolonged in Moldavia and Wallachia, rather than they should pass under Russian protection. The increase of territory which these two provinces would give to Russia, would certainly be considerable, but a variety of circumstances induce me to believe that their value is greatly overrated in a political point of view, and that they would not augment that power in any material degree, at the least for many years : and time to consolidate the new power is required. In all her wars with the Porte, Russia has never experienced the smallest difficulty in occupying these principalities, which besides having no strong holds, are without ports, the grand object of Russian ambition. That the deplorable state of the unfortunate inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia calls aloud for interference, and that it would be an act of the greatest cruelty again to place them under a power, whose system of rule has caused all their miseries, will scarcely be denied by those who most dread the advance of Russia on the south. Should any arrangement take place, by which those provinces were enabled to approximate towards liberal institutions, even under the auspices of Russia, every excuse for keeping up the present contentious system with the Porte must be at once removed, nor would it then be too much for the two powers most interested, to notify the cabinet of St. Petersburg, that the passage of the Danube, by a Russian army, would be considered as a declaration of war against them both. Those who are acquainted with the secrets of the diplomatic circles, assert, that Austria has said to Russia, on more than one occasion, " If you occupy the principalities in perpetuity, I will incorporate Bosnia and Servia." This species of argument is so consonant with the system of policy usually pursued by the great powers, who seem only intent on enlarging their territory, without any regard to the feelings or interests of those

most deeply concerned, that there is probably some truth in the assertion. Be this as it may; if the ambition of Austria is not to be satisfied in any other way, than by the occupation of these two provinces, it would be infinitely better to admit of their appropriation by that power, than to encourage the pretensions which the cabinet of Vienna will be incessantly putting forward with regard to the affairs of Greece and Turkey. Humiliating as it may be to say, in speaking of a Christian state, that it is almost doubtful, whether the Bosnians and Servians would be better under the Turks than under the Austrians, for they are now in the enjoyment of comparative independence; still it may be safely concluded, that they would not lose by the change. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the object of these cursory observations is to prove, that so far as British influence and policy are concerned, neither Russia nor Austria ought to interfere unnecessarily, nor exercise too great a preponderance in the affairs of Turkey; and that however tamely England may look on while these two powers are coming to an understanding with each other about the frontier provinces, which seem, indeed, to be for ever lost to the Porte, one step beyond them should be considered as an act of open hostility to Great Britain.

Should the smallest importance be attached to the desultory thoughts thus thrown out, it is scarcely necessary to say, that a new and highly interesting field is open to British policy in the east of Europe. Although there are persons who perceived that we might have achieved wonders soon after the victories in Egypt, capture of Malta, and more especially, the acquisition of the Ionian Islands, individuals who must ever deplore the manner in which such a combination of advantageous circumstances has been neglected, both as they regard our relations with the Barbary pirates, and other states bordering on the Mediterranean, it has now become doubly incumbent on England to take care that neither her power shall be sapped, nor her popularity totally destroyed in this quarter; and it is only by the nomination of men distinguished for their talents, humanity, and virtue, that this object can be attained. If it had been among the most palpable political errors of a late minister, that he thought it of very little consequence whether we were beloved or hated in the Ionian Islands, his successors will know how to appreciate a policy, not less injurious to England, than derogatory from the character of a wise statesman; while it requires but a very small

portion of sagacity to perceive that the time has arrived, when conciliation and atonement are alone likely to regain the good opinion and confidence of a people whose attachment has become of infinite importance within the last three years.*

With respect to the part we have to act towards Greece and Turkey, it is at once the most difficult and enviable which ever fell to the lot of England; and one in which a

* However anxious I may feel to avoid every thing savouring of personality in these pages, there are cases in which the interests of my country, no less than those of truth, require a departure from the general rule; and it is indeed impossible to pass over the conduct of the consuls employed by the Levant Company towards the Greeks, without describing it as most disgraceful to England, and injurious to the British character. There is no necessity for naming the individuals comprised in this remark; they are too well known to require any further exposure, and too deeply marked with the execration of a whole people to render any additional epithets necessary.

Without now entering into an examination of the total inutility of continuing the charter of a company of traders to the Levant, or expatiating on the positive mischief done to commerce by its existence, it is chiefly important to call the attention of Ministers to the abuses which are practised by the monstrous privilege of covering foreign bottoms with our flag in the Mediterranean, and allowing consuls intended to represent a great nation, and to support its dignity, to enter into all the grovelling speculations of petty traders. It is a fact worthy of notice, that although there is not an individual in the foreign office, even to the lowest clerk, ignorant of the glaring defects of our consular system, and that although the evils connected with it have been accumulating for these twenty years, not a single measure should have been adopted in the whole of that long space to remedy the inconveniences so often and loudly complained of, while other countries have made such immense strides in diplomacy of every kind.

The striking contrast between the policy of Russia towards the Ionian Islands, and that adopted by England, is worthy of the most particular attention on the part of government. As if they had only waited for an opportunity of proving their anxiety to promote the happiness of the Greeks, their first measure was the establishment of a septinsular republic. This of itself, unattended by any advantages, had a wonderful effect in securing popularity. But the Russians did more: they set about correcting many of the abuses, and though the state of Europe, as well as the exhausted condition of the Islands, rendered it impossible to make any very rapid advances towards improvement, nothing could be more conciliatory than the general tendency of their system of government. The similarity of religion, and frequent intermarriages between Russians and natives, have had a great effect in perpetuating the sentiments which still prevail in favour of Russia.

It was Russia that first adopted the excellent idea of organizing the Greeks into regular regiments.

minister might immortalize his name. Although there is at this period of the contest between the Christians and their infidel oppressors, no merit in perceiving that we are bound by every tie, human and divine, to espouse the cause of religion and humanity, yet is there a noble field open for mediation and council, environed as the Porte is by enemies who only seek its destruction: there is no power to which it can look for support but England; and the time may even arrive when, rather than see it crushed by a third party, we should become its allies, as on former occasions. How important, therefore, is it, that we should prevent the prosecution of a contest, which, if continued another year or two, will utterly exhaust the power of Turkey, and place it at the mercy of the first comer? On the other hand, does not humanity and policy dictate, that a stop should be put to the effusion of human blood and protraction of human misery, which cannot be of any earthly use? It is notorious, that besides the loss of two hundred thousand souls, Turkey has expended more money in prosecuting the war in Greece, than she ever did while engaged in hostility with Russia herself.

But I will not pursue a subject which must be so obvious to superficial reasoners; and in concluding these remarks, I have merely to express a hope that, without arrogating any undue influence over Greece, or showing that there is the smallest tincture of selfishness in our policy towards that country, our cabinet may know how to convince the people, that, if it be the interest of England to prevent the Porte from too sudden a dissolution, it is infinitely more important for her glory and interests, that a new and powerful state should be established in the east of Europe.*

* *Blaquiere*, vol. i. p. 300—335.

THE
LAST DAYS OF LORD BYRON,*

COMMUNICATED FROM ZANTE TO A FRIEND IN ENGLAND:

To aid thy mind's developement—to watch
Thy dawn of little joys,—to sit and see
Almost thy very growth,—to view thee catch
Knowledge of objects,—wonders yet to thee!
To hold thee lightly on a gentle knee,
And print on thy soft cheek a parent's kiss,—
This, it should seem, was not reserved for me;
Yet this was in my nature!—

CHILDE HAROLD'S PILGRIMAGE, Canto III.

Zante, May 15th, 1824.

As the hasty lines addressed to you immediately after my arrival here, did little more than confirm the death of Lord Byron, it now remains for me to communicate such particulars relative to that melancholy event, as may tend to satisfy the curiosity of our friends in England, while they will best account for the deep regret so universally expressed by all classes of the Greeks, at having been so prematurely deprived of their late illustrious benefactor and friend.

You are already aware that his Lordship arrived in Cephalonia from Leghorn, in the early part of August, attended by a suite of six or seven individuals, and in an English vessel which he had hired for the express purpose of conveying him to Greece. It was however arranged, and I had, indeed, strongly recommended it in my letters from Tripolizza, that he should touch either at Zante or Cephalonia, previously to landing on the continent. Anxious to avoid compromising the authorities, his Lordship determined to remain on board

* No apology is considered necessary for the republication of this interesting account of the last illness and death of Lord Byron, since, by a detail of his conduct and actions while in Greece, it becomes intimately connected with the history of the revolution; and besides, it has never, it is believed, been published in this country. It is written by Edward Blaquiere, Esq. who collected his information on the spot, and is therefore from the best authority.

the vessel until information could be obtained from the seat of government, to which Mr. Hamilton Browne, who had accompanied him from Italy, was despatched soon after his arrival. There being no tidings from this gentleman before the expiration of the charter party, his Lordship thought it needless to renew it, as he could always procure Ionian vessels, and therefore at length determined on disembarking. Wishing, however, to live as retired as possible, he proceeded to the small village of Metaxata, within five or six miles of Argostoli. Whilst he remained in this retreat, a considerable portion of his time was occupied in reading; he also rode out daily; and though he could only be prevailed on to dine out once, those who came to visit his Lordship, were received with the greatest kindness and hospitality. Every account I have heard, agrees in stating, that all who approached his person were highly delighted with the affability and good humour he displayed during the whole period of his stay in the island. Nor had he been there many days, before several indigent Greek families, exiles and inhabitants, experienced his wonted munificence.

It is reported that one of his visitors at Metaxata, who is in communication with the Societies for propagating Christian Knowledge, availed himself of the occasion to instil the importance of religious meditation and scriptural truth, into the mind of one who had the reputation of not holding either in sufficient reverence, and that although some ludicrous scenes occurred in the course of their interviews, the admonitory party was treated with the utmost kindness, and full credit given to him for the purity of his intentions.

On hearing of Lord Byron's arrival, which he had indeed been long prepared to expect, Prince Mavrocordato, who was at Hydra, despatched his secretary to welcome the distinguished visitor, and when the two Greek deputies now in England, were about to depart on their mission, they were directed to call at Cephalonia, with a letter from the Executive Government, thanking the noble Lord for his generous devotedness to the cause of Greece, and inviting him to pass over to the continent, where it was believed his presence would be the best guarantee of their future success. Two vessels of war were at the same time tendered for the purpose of conveying him to any point of the confederation at which he might think proper to land.

Messrs. Barff and Hancock of Cephalonia and Zante, having heard of the difficulties experienced by Lord Byron in

procuring money from those to whom he had brought letters of credit from Italy, very handsomely offered to supply him with whatever funds he might require. Every impediment being thus removed, two Ionian vessels were immediately hired, and having directed his horses and effects to be embarked, his Lordship sailed from Argostoli on the 29th of December, anchoring here the same evening. The whole of the following day was occupied in making pecuniary arrangements with Mr. Barff, and after receiving a quantity of specie on board, he proceeded towards Missolonghi, that being the point of Greece most exposed to danger, and destitute of supplies. In this short passage, two accidents occurred, which might have been attended with very serious consequences. Count Gamba, who accompanied his Lordship from Leghorn, had been charged with the vessel in which the horses, and part of the money, were embarked; when off Chiarenza, a point lying between this island and the place of their destination, they were surprised at day-light, on finding themselves under the bows of a Turkish frigate. Owing, however, to the activity displayed on board Lord Byron's vessel, and her superior sailing, she escaped; while the second was fired at, brought to, and carried into Patras. Gamba and his companions being taken before Isouf Pacha, fully expected to share the fate of the unfortunate men, whom that sanguinary chief sacrificed last year at Prevesa, though also taken under the Ionian flag; and their fears would most probably have been realized, had it not been for the presence of mind displayed by the Count. Aware that nothing but stratagem and effrontery could now save him, he no sooner saw himself in the Pacha's power, than assuming an air of hauteur and indifference, he accused the captain of the frigate of a scandalous breach of neutrality, in firing at and detaining a vessel under English colours; and concluded by informing Isouf, that he might expect the vengeance of England in thus interrupting a British Nobleman, who was merely on his travels, and bound to Calamos. Whether the infidel chief believed Gamba's story, or that he did not like to proceed to extremities, appears uncertain. Scarcely, however, had the Count ceased, and orders been given to put the crew in irons, than the master of the vessel, advancing towards the captain, quietly demanded, whether he had forgotten Spiro, who fifteen years before, had saved his life in the Black Sea. The Turk, looking steadfastly at him for a few moments, exclaimed, "What! can it be Spiro?" and, springing forward, em-

braced his former deliverer with the utmost transport, and not only consented to the vessel's release, but treated the whole party with the most courteous attention. As to the Pacha, he not only provided a dinner, but invited them to take a day's shooting in the neighbourhood. Gamba gladly accepted these unexpected hospitalities, and, sailing the next day, passed over to Missolonghi, where, to his great surprise, Lord Byron had not yet arrived.

Owing to the wind becoming contrary soon after his escape from the Turkish frigate, Lord Byron's vessel took shelter at the Scrofes, a cluster of rocks within a few miles of Missolonghi; but as this place afforded no means of defence, in the event of an attack, it was thought advisable to remove to Dragomeste, where every preparation was made in case of their being pursued by any of the enemy's cruisers.

Having remained three days at Dragomeste, the wind came round, and allowed his Lordship once more to set sail. On hearing what had happened, Prince Mavrocordato did not lose a moment in despatching a gun-boat to accompany his Lordship, while a portion of the Greek squadron stationed at Missolonghi, were also ordered to cruise in the offing, and prevent the Turkish vessels from approaching the coast. On coming up with his Lordship, one of the Greek captains sent a boat on board, inviting him to make the remainder of the passage in his ship; this offer being declined, for there was now but a very short distance to proceed, they made sail towards Missolonghi. As if, however, the whole voyage was to be ominous of some future calamity, the vessel had not proceeded many miles before she grounded on a shoal near the Scrofes, and would probably have remained there, had it not been for the activity of Fletcher, his Lordship's valet, and Batista, the courier, both whom jumped into the water and pushed the vessel off, whilst their master urged the captain and crew to exert themselves, instead of invoking the saints, as is customary with Catholic and Greek sailors on such occasions.

The wind continuing to blow directly against them, the vessel was again anchored between two of the numerous islets which line this part of the coast. Several gun-boats having been despatched from Missolonghi to accompany his Lordship, he weighed anchor once more, but was under the necessity of bringing to a second time, nor could he reach the anchorage before the following day.

The reception of Lord Byron at Missolonghi, where he

landed on the 5th of January, was most enthusiastic. On approaching Vasiladi, each ship of the squadron that lay anchored off the castle, fired a salute as he passed. When he landed, Prince Mavrocordato and all the authorities, together with the whole of the troops and population, were assembled on the beach to greet his arrival; while proceeding to the house that had been prepared for him, a discharge of twenty-one guns took place from the batteries, whilst the welcoming huzzas of the multitude continued long after he had retired. Nothing could exceed the eagerness with which his presence had been looked for at Missolonghi; he could not have arrived more opportunely, and it must be confessed, that his subsequent conduct proved that the inhabitants had not formed an incorrect estimate of him who had so lately quitted all the blandishments of Italy, to join the standard of the Cross in regenerated Greece.

The very first day of his Lordship's arrival was signalized by his rescuing a Turk, who had fallen into the hands of some Greek sailors. The individual thus saved, having been clothed by his orders, was kept in the house until an opportunity occurred of sending him to Patras. His Lordship had not been many days at Missolonghi, before he had an opportunity of shewing his sense of Isouf Pacha's moderation, in releasing Count Gamba. Hearing that there were four Turkish prisoners in the town, he requested Prince Mavrocordato to place them in his hands. This being immediately granted, they were, on the next day, sent to Patras, with the following letter.

“HIGHNESS;

“A vessel in which a friend and some domestics of mine were embarked, was detained a few days ago and released by order of your Highness; I have now to thank you, not for liberating the vessel, which as carrying a neutral flag, and being under British protection, no one had a right to detain, but for having treated my friends with so much kindness while they were in your hands.

“In the hope that it may not be altogether displeasing to your Highness, I have requested the Governor of this place to release four Turkish prisoners, and he has humanely consented to do so. I lose no time, therefore, in sending them back, in order to make as early a return as I could, for your courtesy on the late occasion. These prisoners are liberated without any conditions; but should the circum-

stance find a place in your recollection, I venture to beg that your Highness will treat such Greeks as may henceforth fall into your hands, with humanity ; more especially as the horrors of war are sufficiently great in themselves, without being aggravated by wanton cruelties on either side.

“ Missolonghi, Jan. 23, 1824.

NOEL BYRON.”

The above act was followed by another, not less entitled to praise, while it proves how anxious his Lordship felt to give a new turn to the system of warfare hitherto pursued. A Greek cruiser having captured a Turkish boat in which there were a number of passengers, chiefly women and children, these being also placed in the hands of Lord Byron at his particular request, a vessel was immediately hired, and the whole of them sent to Prevesa, provided with every requisite for their voyage. The letter which accompanied them was couched in a similar spirit to the former ; it was answered by the English consul, Mr. Meyer, who thanked his Lordship in the name of Beker Aga, the Turkish governor, and concluded by an assurance that he would take care equal attention should be in future shown to the Greeks who fell into his hands.

The first great proof given by Lord Byron, that his visit to Greece was not one of mere curiosity, was evinced in his advancing thirty thousand dollars to the provisional Government. This sum was appropriated to the payment of the fleet, and in obtaining supplies for Missolonghi. From the distress which prevailed at this moment, the above supply was of infinite service to the cause. The enthusiasm of his Lordship may be imagined, from the following short sentence, with which he concludes a letter of business to Mr. Barff not many days after his landing.

“ I hope things here will go well some time or other. I will stick by the cause as long as a cause exists, first or second.”

It had previously been arranged, that Lord Byron should be allowed to organize a corps, of which the command was to be given to himself. This now became the object of his most ardent solicitude. Finding that the Suliotes, of whom there happened to be a large body in the town, were anxious to acquire a knowledge of the evolutions of Europe, numbers of them were enrolled, and the English and German volunteers appointed to superintend their organization.

Both these operations succeeded with such rapidity, that a corps of five hundred men were clothed, armed, and ready to take the field, before his Lordship had been a month at Missolonghi.

Mavrocordato had meditated an attack on the fortress of Lepanto, and as the military stores, sent out by the Greek Committee, afforded the means of bringing some field pieces against the walls, it was settled that Lord Byron should proceed on the intended service at the head of his brigade: and from the preparation that had been made, no doubt whatever was entertained of the speedy surrender of a place, that would render the Greeks masters of the Gulf of Lepanto. In order to facilitate this desirable event, a negotiation had been secretly entered into, with the Albanian portion of the garrison, who consented to retire, if paid their arrears. Indeed this matter was quite settled, and his Lordship on the point of marching, when an unexpected accident prevented the execution of his design. One of the Suliotes having presented himself at Lord Byron's door, while he was conferring on some matters of importance, with Prince Mavrocordato, he insisted on being admitted, and being opposed by a German officer, named Sass, who was in waiting, a violent altercation ensued. This was followed by a personal contest, in which the German lost his life. As may well be supposed, an incident like the above, unexampled as it was during the whole war, created a general ferment throughout the garrison. The first movement of the inhabitants and foreigners, was to insist on the Suliote's being given up to justice. The demand was however resisted by his countrymen, on the plea that their companion had been struck in the first instance, and this was a degradation which no Suliote ever suffered with impunity.

The intention of proceeding against Lepanto, being thus suspended, just as Lord Byron's enthusiasm was at its height; and when he had fully calculated on striking a blow, which could not fail to be of infinite importance to the Greek cause, no wonder that such an unlooked for disappointment should have preyed upon his spirits, and produced a degree of irritability, which, if it was not the direct cause, no doubt mainly contributed to the severe fit of epilepsy with which he was attacked on the night of the 15th of February, while conversing with one of his attendants, and when he was apparently in perfect health. After having remained in a state of insensibility for some time, he gradually revived, upon which Dr.

Bruno, an Italian medical attendant, who accompanied him from Leghorn, had recourse to bleeding, by applying a number of leeches to the veins of the temples. From the manner in which this remedy was applied, it was with great difficulty, and only by the application of powerful styptics, that the flow of blood could be stopped.* A person who was present when the attack commenced, and attended while the leeches were applied, informs me that eleven hours elapsed before the bleeding entirely ceased.

No account of his Lordship's illness reached this place, (Zante,) before the 22d; it was then announced to Mr. Barff, by his secretary, Zambelli, who merely stated that his Lordship had experienced a severe convulsive attack, on the night of the 15th; that though it had left him in a state of excessive debility, nothing serious was apprehended. The paragraph concluded by stating, that his Lordship had taken a long excursion on the water that very day, and felt much better. There being some delay in despatching this letter, the third page contained a note from Lord Byron himself, from which the following is an extract:—

“ I am a good deal better, though, of course, weakly; the leeches took too much blood from my temples the day after, and there was some difficulty in stopping it, but I have since been up daily, and out in boats or on horseback; to-day I have taken a warm bath, and live as temperately as well can be, without any liquid but water, and without animal food.” His Lordship then adds—“ Besides the four Turks sent to Patras, I have obtained the release of four-and-twenty women and children, and sent them to Prevesa, that the English consul general may consign them to their relatives. I did this at their own desire.” After recurring to some other subjects, the letter concludes thus:—“ Matters here are a

* The following humorous account of his Lordship's illness, by himself, has been shown to me since my return to England; it is an extract from a letter to Mr. Murray, his publisher: “ On Sunday, (the 15th, I believe,) I had a strong and sudden convulsive attack, which left me speechless, though not motionless, for some strong men could not hold me; but whether it was epilepsy, cachexy, apoplexy, or what other exy or epsy, the doctors have not decided: or whether it was spasmodic or nervous, &c. but it was very unpleasant, and nearly carried me off, and all that. On Monday they put leeches to my temples, no difficult matter, but the blood could not be stopped till eleven at night, (they had gone too near the temporal artery, for my temporal safety,) and neither styptic nor caustic, would cauterize the orifice, till after a hundred attempts.”

little embroiled between the Souliotes, foreigners, &c. but I still hope better things, and will stand by the cause so long as my health and circumstances will permit me to be supposed useful." A marginal note to Zambelli's letter says,— "I will do what I can in this affair, and have a promise of his life from Prince M." This sentence relates to a criminal, who had been condemned to death by the tribunals of Missolonghi, but in whose favour intercession was made from this place. The next letter received from Zambelli, contained the following short allusion to the state of his Lordship's health:—"I am obliged to support the government here at present ;* my health seems improving, from riding and the warm bath." The convalescence proceeded so rapidly, that his Lordship was enabled to resume his usual duties by the end of the month ; these were divided between the organization of his brigade, and aiding Mavrocordato to heal the dissensions of the Morea.

A letter to Mr. Barff, dated the 5th of March, concerning the Primate of Gastouni, says:—"If Sessini is sincere, he will be treated with, and *well* treated ; if he is not, the sin and the shame will lie at his own door. One great object is, to heal these internal dissensions for the *future*, without exacting a too rigorous account of the past. The Prince Mavrocordato is of the same opinion ; and whoever is disposed to act fairly will be fairly dealt with. *I have heard a good deal* of Sessini, but not a *deal* of good. However, I never judge by report, particularly in a revolution. *Personally*, I am rather obliged to him, for he has been very hospitable to all friends of mine who have passed through his district. You may therefore answer him, that any overtures for the advantage of Greece, and its internal pacification, will be readily and sincerely met here. I hardly think he would have ventured a deceitful proposition to *me* through *you*, because he must be sure that, in such case, it would be eventually exposed. At any rate, the healing of these dissensions is so important a point, that something must be risked to obtain it."

Notwithstanding the improvement in his Lordship's health, his friends here felt from the first, that he ought to try change of air ; and a letter, strongly urging his return to

* In allusion to his having lent the Greeks 30,000 dollars on his arrival.

Zante, was written to him by Mr. Barff early in March, to which the following reply was received on the 10th:—

“I am extremely obliged by your offer of your country house, (as for all other kindness,) in case that my health should require any removal; but I cannot quit Greece while there is any chance of my being of (even *supposed*) utility; there is a stake worth millions such as I am, and while I can stand at all, I must stand by the cause. While I say this, I am aware of the difficulties, and dissensions, and defects of the Greeks themselves; but allowances must be made for them by all reasonable people.”

According as the convalescence of his Lordship improved, his letters become more and more important; that of the 22d, also to his agent, will best explain the nature of his occupations, as well as the admirable zeal with which he pursued the object of his visit to Greece.

“If the Greek deputies (as seems probable) have obtained their loan, the sums I have advanced may perhaps be repaid; but it would make no great difference, as I should still spend that in the cause, and more to boot, though I hope to better purpose than hitherto. In a few days Prince Mavrocordato and myself, with a considerable escort, intend to proceed to Salona, at the request of Ulysses, and the chiefs of eastern Greece, and to take measures, offensive and defensive, for the ensuing campaign. Mavrocrodato is almost recalled by the new Government to the Morea, (to take the lead, I rather think,) and they have written to propose to me, to go either to the Morea with him, or to take the general direction of affairs in this quarter, with General Londo, and any other I may choose, to form a council. Andreas Londo is my old friend and acquaintance, since we were lads in Greece together.* It would be difficult to give a positive answer, till the Salona meeting is over; but I am willing to serve them in any capacity they please, either commanding or commanded; it is much the same to me, as long as I can be of any presumed use to them. Excuse haste—it is late, and I have been several hours on horseback in a country so miry after the rains, that every hundred yards brings you to a brook or a ditch, of whose depth, width, colour, and contents, both my horses and their riders have brought away many tokens.”

The only allusion to public matters, contained in the re-

* Lord Byron, as we have already stated, made the tour of Greece with Mr. Hobhouse, in 1810.

mainder of this communication, the last received from his Lordship, is as follows :

“ There is a dissension amongst the Germans about the conduct of the agents of *their* committees, and an examination amongst themselves is instituted. What the result may be, cannot be anticipated. The English are all very amicable, as far as I know ; and we get on too with the Greeks very tolerably, always making allowances for circumstances ; and *we* have no quarrels with the other foreigners.”

It was, however, while his Lordship continued to be the benefactor of all around him, and the successful mediator between each party, that a severe cold, with which he was seized on the 9th of April, after being exposed to a heavy fall of rain, and unable to change his dress for some hours, brought on an inflammatory fever, which was destined to deprive Greece of her most valuable friend, and England of a poet, whom posterity will probably place next to the bard of Stratford-upon-Avon, in all that constitutes originality, strength, and pathos.

Aware of the intense interest which you will attach to the last illness of such a man, I have been most sedulous in my inquiries among those who either attended or were about his person, from the 9th up to the period of his dissolution. Having more particularly addressed myself to Fletcher, his valet, whose constant attendance on Lord Byron for twenty years, is his best panegyric, while it furnishes the surest guarantee for the veracity of his statements,* I cannot do better than transcribe the narrative of this faithful follower, who mourns the loss of his master in a manner the most affecting and unsophisticated. In presenting Fletcher's account, it may be proper to add, that with the exception of a few verbal alterations, the whole of the facts are stated as I have received them.

“ My master continued his usual custom of riding daily, when the weather would permit, until the 9th of April ; but on that ill-fated day he got very wet, and on his return home his Lordship changed the whole of his dress, but he

* It has afforded me the utmost pleasure to hear from Fletcher himself, that the executors have acted very liberally towards this honest servant of Lord Byron. Indeed, the mere circumstance of his having remained so many years about the person of his Lordship, is highly creditable to himself, while it would be scarcely possible to give a more convincing answer to many of those calumnies which have assailed the memory of his lamented master.

had been too long in his wet clothes, and the cold of which he had complained, more or less, ever since we left Cephalonia, made this attack be more severely felt. Though rather feverish during the night, he slept pretty well, but complained in the morning of a pain in his bones, and a headache; this did not, however, prevent him from taking a ride in the afternoon, which I grieve to say, was his last. On his return, my master said, that the saddle was not perfectly dry, from being so wet the day before, and observed, that he thought it had made him worse. His Lordship was again visited by the same slow fever, and I was sorry to perceive, on the next morning, that his illness appeared to be increasing. He was very low, and complained of not having had any sleep during the night. His appetite was also quite gone. I prepared a little arrow-root, of which he took three or four spoonsfull, saying it was very good, but could take no more. It was not till the third day, the 12th, that I began to be alarmed for my master. In all his former colds he slept well, and was never affected by this slow fever. I therefore went to Dr. Bruno and Mr. Millingen, the two medical attendants, and inquired minutely into every circumstance connected with my master's present illness; both replied that there was no danger, and I might make myself perfectly easy on the subject, for all would be well in a few days; this was on the 13th. On the following day I found my master in such a state, that I could not feel happy without entreating that he would send to Zante for Dr. Thomas. After expressing my fears lest his Lordship should get worse, he desired me to consult the doctors; on doing so, they assured me it was unnecessary to call in any additional medical advice. Here I should remark, that his Lordship repeatedly said, in the course of the day, he was afraid the doctors did not understand his disease; to which I answered, 'then, my Lord, have other advice by all means.' 'They tell me,' said his Lordship, 'that it is only a common cold, which you know I have had a thousand times.' 'I am sure, my Lord,' said I, 'that you never had one of so serious a nature.' 'I think I never had,' was his Lordship's answer. I repeated my supplication that Dr. Thomas should be sent for on the 15th, and was again assured that my master would be better in two or three days. After these confident assurances, I did not renew my entreaties until it was too late.

"The whole nourishment taken by my master, for the last eight days, consisted of a small quantity of broth, at two or

three different times, and two spoonsfull of arrow-root on the 18th, the day before his death.

“The first time I heard of there being any intention of bleeding his Lordship, was on the 15th, when it was proposed by Dr. Bruno, but objected to at first by my master, who asked Mr. Millingen if there was any very great reason for taking blood; the latter replied that it might be of service, but added, that it could be deferred till the next day; and accordingly his Lordship was bled in the right arm on the evening of the 16th. I observed at the time, that his arm had a most inflamed appearance. Dr. Bruno now began to say, he had frequently urged my master to be bled, but that he always refused. A long dispute now arose about the time that had been lost, and the necessity of sending for medical assistance to Zante; upon which I was informed that it would be of no use, as my master would be better, or no more, before the arrival of Dr. Thomas.

“His Lordship continued to get worse, but Dr. Bruno said, he thought letting blood again would save his life, and I lost no time in telling my master how necessary it was to comply with the doctor's wishes; to this he replied, by saying, he feared they were not aware of his disorder; and then, stretching out his arm, said, ‘here, take my arm, and do whatever you like.’

“His Lordship continued to get weaker, and on the 17th he was bled twice; viz. in the morning, and two o'clock in the afternoon. The bleeding at both times was followed by fainting fits, and he would have fallen down more than once, had I not caught him in my arms. In order to prevent such an accident, I took care not to let him stir without being supported. On this day my master said to me twice, ‘I cannot sleep, and you well know I have not been able to sleep for more than a week:’ he added, ‘I am not afraid of dying; I am more fit to die than many think.’ I do not, however, believe that his Lordship had any apprehension of his fate till the day after, the 18th, when he said, ‘I fear you and Tita (the courier) will be ill by sitting up constantly, night and day.’ I answered, ‘we shall never leave your Lordship till you are better.’ On the 18th, he addressed me frequently, and seemed to be rather dissatisfied with his medical treatment. I then said, ‘Pray, my Lord, allow me to send for Dr. Thomas;’ to which he answered, ‘Do so, but be

quick ;* I am only sorry I did not let you send for him before, as I am sure they have mistaken my disease.' I did not lose a moment in obeying my master's orders, or informing Dr. Bruno and Mr. Millingen of it. They said it was very right, they now began to be afraid themselves. On returning to my master's room, his first words were, 'Have you sent?' 'I have, my Lord,' was my answer; upon which he said, 'You have done right, for I should like to know what is the matter with me.' Although his Lordship did not appear to think his dissolution was so near, I could perceive he was getting weaker every hour. His Lordship continued the conversation by saying, 'I now begin to think I am seriously ill; and in case I should be taken away suddenly from you, I wish to give you several directions, which I hope you will be particular in seeing executed.' I answered, I would, in case such an event came to pass, but expressed a hope that he would live many years, to execute them much better himself than I could. To this my master replied, 'No, it is now nearly over;' and then added, 'I must tell you all without losing a moment.' I then said, 'Shall I go, my Lord, and fetch pen, ink, and paper?' 'Oh! my God, no; you will lose too much time, and I have it not to spare, for my time is now short:' and immediately after, 'Now pay attention.' His Lordship commenced by saying, 'You will be provided for.' I begged him, however, to proceed with things of more consequence. He then continued,—'Oh my poor dear child! my dear Ada! my God, could I but have seen her! Give her my blessing, and my dear sister Augusta and her children; and you will go to Lady Byron, and say—Tell her every thing—you are friends with her!' His Lordship appeared to be greatly affected at this moment. Here my master's voice failed him, so that I could only catch a word at intervals, but he continued muttering something very seriously for some time. I then told his Lordship, in a state of the greatest perplexity, that I had not understood a word of what he had said; to which he replied—'Oh! my God! then all is lost! for it is now too late. Can it be possi-

* There is little doubt but that the presence of Dr. Thomas would have been of infinite use in the early stage of his Lordship's illness. Besides his long experience of the diseases incident to the Mediterranean, the doctor had attended Lord Byron some years at Malta, while on his way to Greece, so that the intimacy then formed would have inspired the confidence so necessary between a patient and his medical adviser.

ble you have not understood me?" 'No, my Lord,' said I; 'but I pray you to try and inform me once more.' 'How can I,' rejoined my master, 'it is now too late, and all is over?' I said, 'Not our will but God's be done.' He answered, 'Yes! not mine be done; but I will try.' His Lordship did indeed make several efforts to speak, but could only repeat two or three words at a time, such as, 'My wife!—my child!—my sister! you know all, you must say all, you know my wishes!' The rest was quite unintelligible.

"A consultation was now held, (about noon,) when it was determined to administer some Peruvian bark and wine. My master had now been nine days without any sustenance whatever, except what I have already mentioned. With the exception of a few words, which can only interest those to whom they were addressed, it was impossible to understand any thing his Lordship said, after taking the bark. He expressed a wish to sleep. I at one time asked whether I should call Mr. Parry; to which he replied,—'Yes, you may call him.' The last words I heard my master utter were at six o'clock on the evening of the 18th, when he said, 'I must sleep now;' upon which he laid down never to rise again; for he did not move hand or foot during the following twenty-four hours. His Lordship appeared, however, to be in a state of suffocation at intervals, and had a frequent rattling in the throat. On these occasions I called Tita to assist me in raising his head, and I thought he seemed to get quite stiff. The rattling and choking in the throat took place every half hour, and we continued to raise his head whenever the fit came on, till six o'clock in the evening of the 19th, when I saw my master open his eyes, and then shut them, but without showing any symptom of pain, or moving hand or foot. 'Oh! my God!' I exclaimed, 'I fear his Lordship is gone.' The doctors then felt his pulse, and said, 'You are too right—he is gone!'"

Thus terminated the life of Lord Byron, at a moment the most glorious for his own fame, but the most unfortunate for Greece; since there is no doubt, but had he lived, many calamities would have been avoided, while his personal credit and guarantee would have prevented the ruinous delay which has taken place with regard to transferring the loan.

In thus devoting his life and fortune to the cause of religion* and humanity, when he might have continued to enjoy the enthusiastic praises of his cotemporaries, and all the

* We would rather say *Greece* and humanity.

fascinations of society; his Lordship has raised the best monument to his own fame, and furnished the most conclusive reply to calumny and detraction. Nor is it possible to compare the beautiful allusions to Greece called forth by his splendid genius, with the fact of his becoming a martyr in the cause of her regeneration, without sentiments of the most heartfelt admiration and sympathy.

When all he had done and was about to do for the cause, is considered, no wonder that Lord Byron's death should have produced such an effect; it was, in fact, regarded not only as a national calamity, but as an irreparable loss to every individual in the town, and the English volunteers state that hundreds of the Greeks were seen to shed tears when the event was announced. With respect to Prince Mavrocordato, to whom his Lordship had rendered the most important services, both as a personal friend and in his capacity of Governor General of Western Greece, it is unnecessary to say, that he could not have received a severer blow. His first measure was to issue the following decree.

“ PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF WESTERN GREECE.

“ The present day of festivity and rejoicing is turned into one of sorrow and mourning.

“ The Lord Noel Byron has departed this life, after an illness of ten days: his death being caused by an inflammatory fever. Such was the effect of his Lordship's illness on the public mind, that all classes had forgotten their usual recreations of Easter, even before its afflicting end was apprehended.

“ The loss of this illustrious individual is undoubtedly to be deplored by all Greece, but it must be more especially a subject of lamentation at Missolonghi, where his generosity has been so conspicuously displayed, and of which he had even become a citizen, with the ulterior determination of participating in all the dangers of the war.

“ All are acquainted with the beneficent acts of his Lordship, and none can cease to hail his name as that of a real benefactor.

“ Until, therefore, the final determination of the National Government be known, and by virtue of the powers with which it has been pleased to invest me, I hereby decree:—

“ First. To-morrow morning at day-light, thirty-seven minute guns will be fired from the grand battery, being the

number which corresponds with the age of the illustrious deceased.'

"Second, 'All the public offices, even to the Tribunals, are to remain closed for three successive days.'

"Third, 'All the shops, except those in which provisions or medicines are sold, will also be shut; and it is strictly enjoined, that every species of public amusement, and other demonstrations of festivity at Easter, may be suspended.'

"Fourth, 'A general mourning will be observed for twenty-one days.'

"Fifth, 'Prayers and a funeral service are to be offered up in all the churches.'

"Given at Missolonghi this 19th day of April, 1824.

(Signed)

"MAVROCORDATO.

"GEORGIUS PRIADES, Secretary."

Whilst Missolonghi was deploring a loss which all those who were within its walls felt could never be repaired, the necessary preparations were made to embalm the body, and an account of the process has appeared in the Greek Telegraph. The most remarkable facts stated in this report, relates to the quantity of brains, which are described as being at least one fourth greater than those of ordinary persons; they were saturated with blood.* The heart was also very large, but its fibres were extremely relaxed, so that it must have performed its functions very feebly. The liver is represented as small. In other respects, the body was found to be perfectly sound and healthy. Dr. Bruno, who drew up the report, concludes by stating, that had his illustrious patient consented to be bled when first attacked, there is no doubt but he would be still alive; arguing, however, from the exhausted state in which he found the vessels of the heart, smallness of the liver, and the peculiar structure of the cranium, added to a want of more precaution with regard to his health, not to mention his excessive literary occupation, the doctor adds, that his Lordship could only have survived a few years.

There being no possibility of procuring sheet lead at Missolonghi, the body was placed in a strong tin case, and elevated on a bier covered with black cloth. The arms of the Byron family were represented at one end of the coffin, while

* A pretty good proof that he did not die with too much bleeding.

the sword and cap which his Lordship intended to wear at the siege of Lepanto, were placed on the top.

The necessary arrangements being made for conveying the body to the principal church in the town, this ceremony was omitted in consequence of a suggestion that the rugged state of the pavement might lead to some accident happening to the coffin; it was therefore determined that instead of the corpse, every object would be answered by merely conducting the heart in procession. A separate case having been made for this, it was accordingly substituted for the body.—The procession took place on the 24th, and was attended by the clergy, civil and military authorities, as well as the whole population. On reaching the church, the case was placed on an elevated pedestal prepared for the occasion, upon which a solemn service was performed by the Bishop of Arta, Porfirius; this was followed by the chanting of a requiem. The mournful ceremony concluded with a funeral oration from the pen of my friend Spiridion Tricoupi. This composition, so creditable to the talent of the writer, contains a very eloquent and affecting tribute to the memory of his Lordship.

It being necessary to wait for the vessels sent over by Mr. Barff, the body was not embarked till the 30th, when another procession took place. The coffin was carried down to the sea side, on the shoulders of four military chiefs, and attended in the same order as before; minute guns continued to be discharged till the moment of embarkation; these were followed by a salute of thirty-seven cannon.

The vessel which bore the body, appeared off Zante about two o'clock, on the 4th instant, and was recognized at a considerable distance, owing to her colours being lowered. She entered the Mole towards sunset. The corpse was accompanied by the whole of his Lordship's attendants, who conveyed it to the Lazaretto on the following morning.

When the melancholy event was first communicated to Mr. Barff, he lost no time in dispatching an express to Lord Sidney Osborne, who holds a high official situation at Corfu, and is said to be a distant relation of Lord Byron. His Lordship came to Zante in a gun-boat some days after, in order, it is said, to confer with the Resident, as to the best mode of disposing of the body, for there had been an intention of interring it in that island, until an answer could be obtained from the executors, ascertaining their wishes on the subject.

I need not say with what sort of feelings the notion of beal-

tating to send home the body was met here; there could indeed be but one opinion on the subject; and much to his credit, the Resident no sooner heard what this was, than he at once acquiesced. Some circumstances have been also disclosed by Fletcher, relative to conversations held with his late master, that left no doubt as to the course most proper to be pursued. The first sentiment expressed by those who heard of the above intention, was that, if it should be thought expedient to inter the remains of his Lordship in a foreign soil, they ought to be transferred once more to Greece. In this case, the Parthenon was pointed out as by far the most eligible spot for the ashes of one, who died while labouring in the sublime work of Grecian regeneration. The former plan has, however, been fixed upon, as more consonant with the wishes of his Lordship's family, and the universal feelings in England; and the Florida has, in consequence, been taken up to convey the body home. I should inform you, that the whole of his Lordship's papers found at Missolonghi, were sealed up immediately after his death; some others left in the hands of Mr. Hancock, of Cephalonia, have been forwarded to Mr. Barff, and will be sent home in the Florida."

NO. II.

FUNERAL ORATION ON LORD NOEL BYRON.*

Composed and delivered by Mr. Spiridion Tricoupi, of Missolonghi.

Printed by order of Government.

Missolonghi, 10th April, Thursday in Easter Week, 1824.

"UNLOOKED for event! deplorable misfortune! but a short time has elapsed since the people of this deeply-suffering country welcomed, with unfeigned joy and open arms, this celebrated individual to their bosoms; to-day, overwhelmed with grief and despair, they bathe his funeral couch with tears of bitterness, and mourn over it with inconsolable affliction. On Easter Sunday the happy salutation of the day, 'Christ is risen,'† remained but half pronounced on the lips

* This tribute to the memory of Lord Byron, is interesting, not only as shewing how his death afflicted the hearts, and disappointed the hopes of the Greeks; but also as a specimen of Grecian eloquence at the present day.

† When persons meet on Easter Sunday, the salutation, "Christ is risen," is made among all who profess the Greek religion.

of every Greek ; and as they met, before even congratulating each other on the return of that joyous day, the universal demand was, 'How is Lord Byron?' Thousands, assembled in the spacious plain outside of the city to commemorate the sacred day, appeared as if they had assembled for the sole purpose of imploring the Saviour of the world to restore health to him, who was a partaker with us in our present struggle for the deliverance of our native land.

And how is it possible that any heart could remain unmoved, any lip closed, upon the present occasion ? Was ever Greece in greater want of assistance than when the ever-to-be lamented Lord Byron, at the peril of his life, crossed over to Missolonghi ? Then, and ever since he has been with us, his liberal hand has been opened to our necessities—necessities which our own poverty would have otherwise rendered irremediable. How many and much greater benefits did we not expect from him ; and to-day, alas ! to-day, the unrelenting grave closes over him and our hopes !

Residing out of Greece, and enjoying all the pleasures and luxuries of Europe, he might have contributed materially to the success of our cause, without coming personally amongst us ; and this would have been sufficient for us, for the well-proved ability and profound judgment of our Governor, the President of the Senate, would have ensured our safety with the means so supplied. But if this was sufficient for us, it was not so for Lord Byron. Destined by nature to uphold the rights of man wherever he saw them trampled upon ; born in a free and enlightened country ; early taught, by reading the works of our ancestors, (which indeed teach all who can read them,) not only what man is, but what he ought to be, and what he may be—he saw the persecuted and enslaved Greek determine to break the heavy chains with which he was bound, and to convert the iron into sharp-edged swords, that he might regain by force what force had torn from him ! His Lordship saw this, and leaving all the pleasures of Europe, he came to share our sufferings and our hardships ; assisting us, not only with his wealth, of which he was profuse ; not only with his judgment, of which he has given us so many salutary examples ;—but with his sword, which he was preparing to unsheathe against our barbarous and tyrannical oppressors. He came, in a word, according to the testimony of those who were intimate with him, with the determination to die in Greece and for Greece ! How, therefore, can we do otherwise than lament, with heartfelt sorrow, the loss of such

a man! How can we do otherwise than bewail it as the loss of the whole Greek nation.

Thus far, my friends, you have seen him liberal, generous, courageous—a true Philhellenist; and you have seen him as your benefactor. This is, indeed, a sufficient cause for your tears, but it is not sufficient for his honour; it is not sufficient for the greatness of the undertaking in which he had engaged. He, whose death we are now so deeply deploring, was a man, who, in one great branch of literature, gave his name to the age in which we live; the vastness of his genius, and the richness of his fancy, did not permit him to follow the splendid, though beaten track of the literary fame of the ancients; he chose a new road—a road which ancient prejudice had endeavoured, and was still endeavouring, to shut against the learned of Europe: but as long as his writings live, and they must live as long as the world exists, this road will remain always open; for it is, as well as the other, a sure road to true knowledge. I will not detain you at the present time, by expressing all the respect and enthusiasm with which the perusal of his writings has always inspired me, and which indeed I feel much more powerfully now than at any other period. The learned men of all Europe celebrate him, and have celebrated him; and all ages will celebrate the poet of our age, for he was born for all Europe and for all ages.

One consideration occurs to me, as striking and true as it is applicable to the present state of our country; listen to it, my friends, with attention, that you may make it your own, and that it may become a generally acknowledged truth.

There have been many great and splendid nations in the world, but few have been the epochs of their true glory: one phenomenon, I am inclined to believe, is wanting in the history of these nations, and one, the possibility of the appearance of which the all-considering mind of the philosopher has much doubted. Almost all the nations of the world have fallen from the hands of one master into those of another; some have been benefitted, others have been injured by the change; but the eye of the historian has not yet seen a nation enslaved by barbarians, and more particularly by barbarians rooted for ages in their soil—has not yet seen, I say, such a people throw off their slavery unassisted and alone. This is the phenomenon; and now, for the first time in the history of the world, we witness it in Greece, yes, in Greece alone! The philosopher beholds it from afar, and his doubts are dissipated; the historian sees it, and prepares his citation of it as a

new event in the fortunes of nations; the statesman sees it, and becomes more observant and more on his guard. Such is the extraordinary time in which we live. My friends, the insurrection of Greece is not an epoch of our nation alone; it is an epoch of all nations: for, as I before observed, it is a phenomenon which stands alone in the political history of nations.

The great mind of the highly-gifted and much-lamented Byron observed this phenomenon, and he wished to unite his name with our glory. Other revolutions have happened in his time, but he did not enter into any of them—he did not assist any of them; for their character and nature were totally different; the cause of Greece alone was a cause worthy of him whom all the learned of Europe celebrate. Consider, then, my friends, consider the time in which you live—in what a struggle you are engaged; consider that the glory of past ages admits not of comparison with yours; the friends of liberty, the philanthropists, the philosophers of all nations, and especially of the enlightened and generous English nation, congratulate you, and from afar rejoice with you; all animate you: and the poet of our age, already crowned with immortality, emulous of your glory, came personally to your shores, that he might, together with yourselves, wash out with his blood the marks of tyranny from our polluted soil.

Born in the great capital of England, his descent noble, on the side of both his father and his mother, what unfeigned joy did his Philhellenic heart feel, when our poor city, in token of our gratitude, inscribed his name among the number of her citizens. In the agonies of death; yes, at the moment when eternity appeared before him; as he was lingering on the brink of mortal and immortal life; when all the material world appeared but as a speck in the great works of Divine Omnipotence;—in that awful hour, but two names dwelt upon the lips of this illustrious individual, leaving all the world besides—the names of his only and much beloved daughter and of Greece: these two names, deeply engraven on his heart, even the moment of death could not efface. ‘My daughter!’ he said; ‘Greece!’ he exclaimed; and his spirit passed away. What Grecian heart will not be deeply affected as often as it recalls to mind this moment!

Our tears, my friends, will be grateful, very grateful to *his shade*, for they are the tears of sincere affection; but much more grateful will be our deeds in the cause of our country, which, though removed from us, he will observe.

from the heavens, of which his virtues have doubtless opened to him the gates. This return alone does he require from us for all his munificence ; this reward for his love towards us ; this consolation for his sufferings in our cause ; and this inheritance for the loss of his invaluable life. When your exertions, my friends, shall have liberated us from the hands which have so long held us down in chains ; from the hands which have torn from our arms our property, our brothers, our children ;—then will his spirit rejoice, then will his shade be satisfied !—Yes, in that blessed hour of our freedom, the Archbishop will extend his sacred and free hand, and pronounce a blessing over his venerated tomb : the young warrior, sheathing his sword, red with the blood of his tyrannical oppressors, will strew it with laurel ; the statesman will consecrate it with his oratory ; and the poet, resting upon the marble, will become doubly inspired ; the virgins of Greece, (whose beauty our illustrious fellow-citizen Byron has celebrated in many of his poems,) without any longer fearing contamination from the rapacious hands of our oppressors, crowning their heads with garlands, will dance round it, and sing of the beauty of our land, which the poet of our age has already commemorated with such grace and truth. But what sorrowful thought now presses upon my mind ! My fancy has carried me away ; I had pictured to myself all that my heart could have desired ; I had imagined the blessings of our bishops, the hymns, and laurel crowns, and the dance of the virgins of Greece, round the tomb of the benefactor of Greece ;—but this tomb will not contain his precious remains ; the tomb will remain void ; but a few days more will his body remain on the face of our land—of his new chosen country ; it cannot be given over to our arms ; it must be borne to his own native land, which is honoured by his birth.

Oh Daughter ! most dearly beloved by him ; your arms will receive him ; your tears will bathe the tomb which contains his body ; and the tears of the orphans of Greece will be shed over the urn containing his precious heart, and over all the land of Greece, for all the land of Greece is his tomb. As in the last moment of his life you and Greece were alone in his heart and upon his lips, it was but just that she (Greece) should retain a share of the precious remains. Missolonghi, his country, will ever watch over and protect with all her strength the urn containing his venerated heart, as a symbol of his love towards us. All Greece, clothed in mourning, and

inconsolable, accompanies the procession in which it is borne; all ecclesiastical, civil, and military honours attend it; all his fellow citizens of Missolonghi, and fellow-countrymen of Greece, follow it, crowning it with their gratitude, and bedewing it with their tears; it is blessed by the pious benedictions and prayers of our archbishop, bishop, and all our clergy. Learn, noble Lady, learn that chieftains bore it on their shoulders, and carried it to the church; thousands of Greek soldiers lined the way through which it passed, with the muzzles of their muskets, which had destroyed so many tyrants, pointed towards the ground, as though they would war against that earth which was to deprive them for ever of the sight of their benefactor;—all this crowd of soldiers, ready at a moment to march against the implacable enemy of Christ and man, surrounded the funeral coach, and swore never to forget the sacrifices made by your Father for us, and never to allow the spot where his heart is placed, to be trampled upon by barbarous and tyrannical feet.* Thousands of Christian voices were in a moment heard, and the temple of the Almighty resounded with supplications and prayers that his venerated remains might be safely conveyed to his native land, and that his soul might rest where the righteous alone find rest !”

NO. III.

PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY.

Address of Nicolas Jeracaris, of Scio, delivered to a Meeting of Patriots convened at Napoli di Romania, on the 10th of August, 1824, to discuss the propriety of forming a Philanthropic Society in Greece.

“FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN !

“CONVINCED of the patriotic zeal and humane sentiments which animate all those whom I have now the honour to address, it affords me great satisfaction to have an opportunity of submitting the following facts for your consideration; satisfied that whatever may be the result of this day’s meeting, they will be received with candour and indulgence.

* The Greeks hoped, and expected when this was written, that his remains would be interred at Missolonghi. But as we have already seen in the account of his illness and death, they were transported to England, to be intombed with his ancestors.

“ It must be well known to you, that after the breaking out of our revolution, and the cruelties which preceded and followed the event, great numbers of families took refuge in the Morea, both on account of its having become the seat of government, and because it would afford a safer asylum than any other point of the confederation. It would be an act of injustice to the national character, were I to say, that all who had any means of ministering to the wants of the fugitives, most of whom came here in a state of the greatest destitution and wretchedness, did not do their utmost to alleviate the sufferings of their fellow citizens on that occasion. When the nature of the contest is considered, I need hardly say, that the number who could stretch forth the hand of charity was very limited, while the more important duties of conducting the naval and military operations, precluded the possibility of the Executive devoting its attention to the subject. The natural consequences of this state of things has been, that independently of thousands having become the victims of poverty and disease, during the early stages of the war, the spectacle of wretchedness exhibited in various parts of the Peloponnesus at this moment, is not less heart-rending than it has been at any former period. This is occasioned by the recent influx of not less than fifteen thousand fugitives from Livadia, Negropont, Candia, and Ipsara. These unhappy fugitives, of whom three-fourths are women and children, have taken refuge at Epidaurus, Malvasia, on the adjacent coast of Maina, and in this place. When I state that by far the greatest portion of these poor creatures, are suffering under the double calamity of want and sickness, without adequate food or raiment, and obliged to live in the open air, I feel assured that no more is required to prove the necessity of the present meeting, or excite the sympathy of every man who professes a spark of benevolence and Christian charity.

“ So far as our self-interest, independent of every other consideration, is connected with our duty on the present occasion, I shall only mention two points, which cannot fail to strike the most superficial observer. So long as no steps are taken to relieve the distresses of our fugitive countrymen, how can it be expected that they will abandon their helpless families to enrol themselves in our fleets and armies? Thus it is, that numbers of brave soldiers and seamen, whose presence would be of such utility in the field of honour, either die neglected, or lead a life of sloth and misery. But what will be the fate of the other sex, if nothing be done to show

the national sympathy in their favour? It is true, the Greek women have as yet borne up against their accumulated misfortunes with the most heroic constancy, preferring death itself, to any dereliction of their duties as wives and mothers. But it is for you, my friends and fellow countrymen, to reflect on the possible consequences of withholding charity, or betraying indifference, to our suffering countrywomen!

“Impelled by the crying necessity of the case, and anxious to insure the co-operation of government in forming a Philanthropic Society, I have already addressed a memorial on the subject to the Executive, pointing out among other matters, a mode by which a sum of two thousand dollars per month, might be raised in this place alone, without interfering with the public revenues. As I shall do myself the honour of laying a copy of my memorial before you, it is unnecessary to make any further allusion to its contents in this place.

“Should the above most desirable association be formed at the seat of government, I feel assured the example will be followed by the formation of branch societies throughout all the provinces. Without dwelling on the mass of human suffering which must be removed by such a beneficent establishment, what better reply can we give to the detractors of our national character. Called by Providence to take our place among those nations of Europe, which knows to what an extent our ancestors contributed to modern civilization, we are no less bound to show those nations who have so generously received the Greek patriots in their bosom, that notwithstanding all the calamities of our revolution, we are also alive to the duties of humanity and benevolence. I am satisfied, too, that the proposed measure, if carried into effect, will be highly gratifying to the nations who have in various ways sympathized in our eventful struggle; but more especially to those foreigners, who, abandoning their own country, have come to share in our misfortunes, and even die in combating for our holy cause.”

*Memorial addressed to the Provisional Government of Greece,
relative to the formation of a Philanthropic Society.*

“Were those who govern the people, even gifted with the hundred eyes of Argus, such is the multiplicity of concerns which constantly occupy their attention, and the cares to

which they are exposed, that it would be impossible for them to think of every thing that is required for the benefit of the governed. This is one powerful reason, why it is the privilege of every lover of his country, except in despotic governments, to observe the sufferings of their fellow citizens, reflect on the means of alleviating them, and lay his suggestions before the proper authorities. These are, on the other hand, in duty bound, to take such suggestions into consideration, and if found beneficial, to carry them into effect without delay. The consequence of treating propositions for the general good with indifference or neglect is, that it proves the rulers to have deviated from the social compact, while it renders them deservedly unpopular, if not unfit to govern.

“Convinced, as I am, that the Provisional Government is most anxious to diminish those evils inseparable from the war, and which have fallen upon a large portion of the population, and that the variety, as well as importance of other matters, have alone prevented it from taking the subject more immediately into consideration, I humbly beg leave, respectfully to offer my sentiments, as to the best and speediest means of alleviating some portion of the public misery, which continues to aggravate the other horrors so inseparable from the war of regeneration.

“It is well known that thousands of my countrymen, who were enabled to escape from the hands of our blood-thirsty tyrants, have taken refuge in the Morea, hoping here to find profitable employment and the relief of their distresses—distresses which have deprived great numbers, as it threatens to deprive others, of that existence which the Almighty had preserved, in order that they might one day have an opportunity of avenging the murder of their wives, children, and parents! With every disposition to aid their unfortunate fellow-citizens, such is the number of those who possess no adequate means of sustaining life, that it has been impossible to prevent the miserable spectacle of whole families perishing from absolute want, while others are at this moment exposed in the open air, without any hopes whatever of relief, except through the prompt aid of government, or those of their countrymen who are enabled to come forward. Seeing, therefore, that it is impossible for the Executive to withdraw any part of its attention from the great objects of the war, while individual charity only requires a proper impulse to become general all over the confederation, I beg leave to offer the following suggestions, as those which are, in my humble

opinion, best calculated to provide a proper remedy for the distress to which I have thus alluded. It is proposed—

“1st. That a Philanthropic Society be formed at the seat of the Provisional Government, and an immediate appeal be issued by it, to all classes of the citizens, calling on them to come forward in aid of the poor and necessitous.

“2nd. That each shop-keeper be called on to contribute the trifling sum of from 4 to 8 paras, two pence half-penny, daily, to the Philanthropic Fund.

“3rd. That the ministers of the gospel be requested to make collections in their respective churches for the same object.

“4th. That a small box be placed at the Custom-House, and another at the entrance of the fortress, to receive such donations as those who return from sea and land journies may be disposed to give.

“5th. That a small additional duty be levied on imports for the above purpose.

“6th. That a trifling sum be retained from the pay of all public functionaries, for the said fund.

“7th. That the Priors of Monasteries be invited to contribute a certain sum annually to the Philanthropic Fund.

“With these aids, and the sums arising from voluntary subscriptions, the Society would be enabled to form such an establishment, including medical men, purveyors, and other attendants, as may be requisite to carry the objects of the association into active effect.

“Such is the object to which I would entreat the support and encouragement of the Provisional Government. This is, indeed, all that is required, not only to insure the success of the Society here, but lead to the establishment of branch associations throughout the confederacy; thus proving to the whole civilized world, that in practising the fundamental principles of Christianity, the Greeks are worthy of the sublime destinies to which they aspire.

(Signed) “NICOLAS JERACARIAS, of Scio.

“*Napoli di Romania, Aug. 1st, 1824.*”

Letter addressed by the Deputation of the Philanthropic Society of Greece, to Joseph Hume, Esq. M. P. William Allen, Esq. Treasurer and Secretary to the Committee of Friends, in favour of indigent Greeks—Jeremy Bentham, Esq. and John Bowring, Esq. Hon. Secretary of the Greek Committee—enclosing a copy of the Rules of the new Society, together with a power to act for it in the United Kingdom.

“ Napoli di Romania, August 12–24th, 1824.

“ GENTLEMEN :

“ The number of fugitives pressing into liberated Greece, from those points which are still cursed with the presence of our late sanguinary tyrants, added to an epidemic disease, the natural result of such a struggle as that in which we are engaged, having produced the greatest distress among a large portion of the population, while thousands are thus prevented from going forth against the enemy, and our youth left without instruction, a meeting lately convened for the purpose of taking the above important subject into consideration, with a view of adopting ulterior measures, resolved at once to form themselves into an association, to be called the Philanthropic Society of regenerated Greece, the organization of which we have the honour to transmit, not doubting that you will appreciate the advantages of such an institution at a moment like the present.

“ Although the success which has attended the early efforts of the Society at the seat of government, far exceeds what we had anticipated, while it leads us to entertain the most sanguine hopes for the future ; yet such are the accumulated wants of our suffering population, and the multifarious objects proposed to itself by the Society, that it would be preposterous to expect that all the funds required could be raised in Greece. Calculating, therefore, on the sympathy which has been shown towards the Greek cause, it has been determined to appeal to the Christian world of every denomination and sect, in behalf of an association, established for the express purpose of fulfilling that great maxim of our common faith, which the Saviour of mankind sought to impress on his followers as the first of duties, and affording the best claim to the approbation of heaven.

“ As the objects of the association are fully detailed in the accompanying papers, it only remains for us to solicit the

favour of your becoming the agents and representatives of the Society in Great Britain, where Greece has already experienced such proofs of sympathy and benevolence. It was indeed but natural for us to appeal more especially to a country which is covered with charitable institutions; and if we have selected you, Gentlemen, to be the medium of this appeal, it is because your names have been mentioned to us as being closely connected with the formation of two societies established for the express purpose of relieving our suffering countrymen, or aiding us in the struggle for independence.

“ Leaving the mode of carrying the objects of the Society into effect, in the United Kingdom, to your better judgment, all we would request is, that you might be pleased to transmit regular lists of all those who become patrons of the association, in order that the people of Greece may know, through the medium of the public press, who are their benefactors.

“ When it is considered that an institution like the present, if encouraged and brought to maturity, while it ministers to the wants of thousands now, may, at no distant period, become the means of extending civilization far beyond the limits of Greece, the undersigned feel it would be superfluous to offer any apology for the liberty they have taken in soliciting you to promote the objects of the Society, and receive contributions for it in England.

“ With expressions of heartfelt gratitude for your exertions in favour of Greece, the undersigned avail themselves of this occasion to offer you the assurance of their highest consideration and respect.

(Signed)	<p>“ NICOLAS JERACARIS, Chairman. “ N. KALERGI. “ GEORGIUS GLARAKES. “ JOANIS THEOTOKIS. “ DEMETRIUS DESILLAS. “ T. NEGRIS. “ J. CLASSIS. “ NICOLAS FLOJAITEs, Hon. Secretary.”</p>
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ORGANIZATION OF THE PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY OF GREECE.

SECT. I.

Of the Society in General.

I. Individuals of every nation and condition are eligible to become members of the Philanthropic Society.

II. The members of the society are to be divided into three classes.

1. The first class is to consist of persons who have contributed to the funds of the Society, and afford personal assistance.

2. The second class to consist of those who only contribute to the funds.

3. The third class to consist of persons who, not being able to contribute to the funds, would feel disposed to afford their personal services.

SECT. II.

Objects of the Association

III. The Society will occupy itself with,—

1. The clothing and supporting the poor, sick, widows and orphans.

2. The education of orphans and destitute children.

IV. The Society will be fixed and hold its meetings whenever the seat of Government may be established.

V. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a deputation.

1. The deputation shall consist of seven members, to be chosen out from the first class only.

2. The deputation shall be under a president, who is one of the members chosen by ballot, and elected monthly from the number.

3. The deputation shall keep records. It shall have a secretary, an accountant, apothecaries, and their clerks.

SECT. III.

Of the General Assemblies.

VI. The members of the Society, personally present, shall elect a deputation by a majority of votes.

VII. The functions of the said deputation are to be continued for two years. Half the number to be changed at the end of the first year; that is to say, the secretary, treasurer, and store-keeper, to be also chosen by ballot, will thus be changed at the end of the first year.

VIII. The general assemblies of the Society will be composed of the first and second classes, including the members of the deputation. The discussions to take place under the president for the time being.

IX. In the general assemblies, (see article 6) the members of the Society and of the deputation are on a perfect equality as to the right of voting.

X. The members of the first and second class, collected at the central station, are under the obligation of attending at all the ordinary and extraordinary meetings of the Society, except when prevented from an admissible cause.

XI. Every member of the society has a right to publish his speeches or opinions, through the medium of the press.

XII. The seal of the Society shall be a head of Apollo, with this inscription, "*Philanthropic Society of regenerated Greece.*"

SECT. IV.

Duties of the Deputation.

XIII. The assemblages of the deputies will be regarded as complete, whenever two thirds of the members, with the President, are present.

XIV. The resolutions of the deputies will be regulated by a majority of votes.

XV. All the written documentary proceedings shall be signed by the President, and countersigned by the assembled number of the deputation, and the Secretary shall cause the seal of the Society to be affixed to them.

XVI. It will appoint agents or correspondents in the provinces or abroad.

XVII. It will keep up a correspondence with the foreign members resident out of Greece, and in reference to objects coming within the views of the Society; but always, however, with the concurrence of the members present.

XVIII. It will convene the members present, to attend the ordinary weekly meeting, to consider and resolve on the various objects which may arise for their consideration; and it will unite them to meet once a month, to render a special account of the diversified objects which have occupied their attention; the result to be made public through the medium of the press.

XIX. It will promulgate, by means of the public press, the names of all new members, as well as specify the amount of their contributions.

SECT. V.

On the Duties of the Secretary.

XX. The secretary of the deputation shall prepare and preside over the correspondence, keeping up the degree of order and punctuality necessary in the receipt and dispatch of all documentary proceedings.

XXI. He will publish regularly the report of meetings, containing a minute account of all that occurs either in them or as connected with the affairs of the Society.

SECT. VI.

Duties of the Treasurer.

XXII. The Treasurer shall keep registers of all sums received and disbursed, seeing that the entries are carefully and promptly made.

XXIII. He shall make no issue of monies, without a legal order in writing from the deputation.

XXIV. All the vouchers of the accountant shall be signed by him, and countersigned by the clerk who keeps the books of his department. The accountant shall receive all sums tendered to him, and shall issue the necessary receipts or vouchers.

XXV. At the end of each month, he shall return the deputation an exact account of all the receipts and disbursements.

SECT. VII.

Duties of the Dispensers.

XXVI. All the written orders of the dispensers shall be signed by the clerk, to whose department the voucher be consigned; he shall keep regular and appropriate registers of the same.

XXVII. The dispensers are to receive all the articles or items of money received by the Society, and they are to give proper receipts for the same.

XXVIII. The apothecaries are not to deliver the most trifling article, without a legal written order from the deputation.

XXIX. They are to render a monthly report of every thing received and delivered by them.

SECT. VIII.

Of Admission.

XXX. As soon as they have paid their contributions to the accountant or dispensers, the members of the first class shall

receive a written acknowledgment as a receipt of the same, which they are to present to the deputation, upon which they will receive a written diploma of their admission, and be thus recognized as members of the Society.

XXXI. The admission of members of the second class will be regulated in the same manner.

XXXII. Members of the third class are admitted merely by a written diploma from the deputation.

SECT. IX.

Of Contributions.

XXXIII. The Contribution of each member cannot be less than fifty piastres.

XXXIV. The contributions may be either in specie, or in articles useful and necessary, and signified to be receivable by the deputation.

SECT. X.

XXXV. The Society places itself under the control of the laws and of the government, and it invokes the approbation and support of the philanthropists of the whole civilized world.

XXXVI. The undersigned organizers of the present Society, take upon themselves its entire management, until the number of members shall have increased to thirty-one of the first and second classes; and the first general meeting of the Society will be convened, in order that it may proceed to the election of the deputies, and the subordinate officers, according to the foregoing plan of organization.

Given at Napoli di Romania, 1-13th August, 1824, IN THE
FOURTH YEAR OF GRECIAN INDEPENDENCE.

(Signed)

D. DESILLAS.

DEM. GOUZELES.

P. A. ANAGNOSTOPOULO.

JOANIS THEOTOKIS.

N. JERAKARIS.

N. KALERGI.

GEO. GLARAKES.

F. NEGRIS.

E. KALERGI.

N. NIKITOPOULOS.

N. THESEUS.

T. VALIANO.

(True Copy) N. FLOGAITES, *Sec'y.*

APPENDIX.

NO. IV.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE GREEKS

THE Greek nation, wearied by the dreadful weight of Ottoman oppression, and resolved to break its yoke, though at the price of the greatest sacrifices, proclaims to-day, before God and men, by the organ of its lawful representative in a national assembly, its independence.

Descendants of a generous and enlightened nation, possessors of the happiness which the sacred ægis of law secures to the civilized nations of Europe! Ye all know, that the measure of our sufferings was full. It was impossible any longer to bear, without being charged with cowardice and stupidity, the cruel scourge of Ottoman rule. Had the Turk, during four centuries, trampling under foot our rights and justice, disposed of us as his caprice prompted? No, we flew to arms then, in order to avenge the injuries which this insolent tyrant had heaped on our country; injuries unexampled, and which left far behind it all the various shapes of oppression which have ever desolated and stained the earth with carnage.

Our warfare against the Turks, far from being the result of a seditious and jacobinical movement, or the pretext of an ambitious faction, is a national war, undertaken for the purpose of reconquering our rights, and securing our independence and honour. In vain did injustice, by depriving us of all securities, hope to stifle in our hearts the conviction of their necessity. As if, formed out of the vilest materials, we were condemned by nature to perpetual servitude; as if we had to crouch beneath the wild sway of ferocious tyrants, who came from afar to subdue and to crush us! No, a thousand ages of proscription would not bar the sacred rights, which our creation was the work of nature herself. They were torn from us by violence; and violence, more righteously employed, may one day win them back, and hold them forth to the world, their reviving brilliancy to the admiration of the universe. In a word, they are rights which we have never ceased claiming in the very heart of our country, by every means which occasional opportunities placed in our power.

Strong in these principles, and wishing to advance to the equals of the Christians of Europe, in the paths of civilization, we combined into one great war all the partial and petty conflicts which we had long waged against the Ottomans.

pire. We swore to conquer, and to behold our country governed by just laws, or to disappear from the face of the earth. During ten months God has blessed our steps in this glorious but rugged road. Our arms have been often victorious, but often they have experienced resistance. We are struggling to remove the obstacles which retard our triumph. Our political organization was then deferred, and the nation, solely occupied in repelling a lasting danger, foresaw that appearance of disorder which ever follows great convulsions, and which the injudicious alone can make a matter of reproach against us.

As soon as circumstances allowed us to think of a plan of government, we saw the Greek continent of the east and west, the Peloponnesus, and the islands, successively proceed in their organization, and prepare the way for that general constitutional system which was necessary to direct the progress of our revolution. For this purpose, the deputies of the provinces and of the islands, being duly authorized, and having met in a national assembly, and after deliberately considering the state of the country, have decreed the basis and the provisional form of the government which is to preside over the future destinies of your country. This government, founded on justice, instituted by universal consent, is now the only legitimate and national government. The nations of Greece will therefore hasten to recognize it.

Two august bodies, the executive power and the senate, will be at the head of the administration, supported by the judicial power, which will discharge its duties quite independently of the former.

The assembly declares to the nation, that, having completed its task, it this day dissolves itself. It is the duty of the nation to submit to the laws and the authorities which emanate from it. Grecians! but a little while since, ye said, "no more slavery!" and the power of the tyrant has vanished. But it is concord alone which can consolidate your liberty and independence. The assembly offers up its prayers, that the mighty arm of the Most High may raise the nation towards the sanctuary of his eternal wisdom. Thus discerning their true interests, the magistrates, by a vigilant foresight, the people, by a sincere devotion, will succeed in founding the long-desired prosperity of our common country.

EPIDAUROS, the 15th of January, 1822,
and the First Year of Independence.

NO. V.

DECLARATION TO THE CHRISTIAN POWERS.

The great struggle in which the Greek nation is engaged, has occupied Europe, as it will the pens of historians. From the first moment, all hearts, imbued with honour and sensibility, applauded these words—"Greece is fighting for liberty." A prey to the most humiliating and severe oppression, she excited the pity of the whole civilized world. Humanity loudly claimed the deliverance of her benefactress. Justice, prostrate before the throne of the Most High, accused those who profaned the mysteries of Christ, plundered all property, and caused the tears of the widow and the orphan to flow.

Whence comes it that European policy, far from aiding such virtuous efforts, suffers itself to be deceived as to their tendency? Whence comes it, that an unprecedented malevolence endeavoured to calumniate the views of an oppressed nation, and to darken the brilliancy of actions which needed not excuse! Had not the insurrection at once its reason and justification in previous oppression? Was not armed despair the only protector capable of redressing our wrongs? Whatever may have been the occasion on which the revolution burst forth, whatever may have been the circumstances of its origin, it is proved to have been founded on the universal discontent, whose consequences were sooner or later to include all Greece in one conflagration. The Greeks were serving foreign masters, inexorable tyrants, insatiable tigers! No compact bound them to the foreign power, which, in the madness of its pride, claimed to rule them by mere brute force for ever. The time was come, *not* to overthrow a national and respected sovereignty, for some chimera of perfectibility, but to break a sceptre of iron, to repel force by force, and to substitute immutable rights to atrocious realities. Besides, what disasters could be feared, greater or more monstrous, than those which were afflicting Candia, Epirus, and the Morea? An execrable administration was sucking the drop of blood from the veins of the political body. The complaints of the oppressed expired before they reached the Sublime Porte, as Destiny, that merciless goddess, used to see the incense of mortals melt away before her temple of

iron. Already a conversion to Mahometanism appeared their sole safeguard to the wretched population; and what would have become of the sacred claims which the Gospel has acquired to the pious gratitude of the Greeks? Would Europe have wished to see the consummation of this gigantic act of apostacy? Would she, though proud of a Christian Holy Alliance, have sanctioned afresh the triumph of the Arabian code over Christianity, of barbarism over civilization?

We did right in taking up arms, if it was only to fall with honour; and when the first step was trodden, it was necessary to advance. The revolution, popular in its motives, became still more so in its progress. The frightful acts of vengeance exercised on so many distinguished persons, on so many illustrious families, pointed out the abyss into which the entire nation would fall, if it had the baseness to yield. What security could it obtain against the violators of all law? It is thus that the Greeks have chosen the desperate alternative of perishing or of being delivered. And they would in fact have perished, if Providence had not hitherto vouchsafed the miracle of our successes. For the last thirteen months, God has aided the work of the righteous. They see the all-powerful hand, which created this harmonious system of worlds, laid heavily on both nations and kings, repairing the ravages of time, and distributing the compensations of ages. Greece, abandoned by the rest of the earth, with the volume of her past splendour, and her woes, and her rights, in her hand—Greece will still pursue her arduous career. Her cities sacked, her villages burnt, her population decimated, her fields ravaged, bear witness to her proud determination. Crushed by numbers, she will yet wash out her defeats in her blood. What will be the feelings of Europe towards her? Assembled Greece has solemnly proclaimed her independence, and has given herself a government, surrounded by national emblems, having for its first object the welfare of Greece, and not the interest of a party. This legitimate organ of the nation has thought it due equally to itself and to the people, to lay the preceding statement before the Christian powers. Honour and hope will guide Grecian constancy through the gloom of futurity. The Greeks aim at peace combined with independence, and at the political fruits of civilization. They protest beforehand against any violation of their rights, so lately purchased by the most heroic sacrifices. In a word, humanity, religion, interest, all plead in their

favour. It is for the powers of Christendom to decide on this occasion, what legacy they propose bequeathing to history, and to posterity.

Given at Corinth the 15th April, 1822.

The members of the Central Government of Greece,

A. MAVROCORDATO, *President.*

ATHANASIOS CANACARI, *Vice-President,*

ANAGNOSTI PAPPAIANNOPOULO,

JOANIS ORLANDO,

JOANIS LOGOTHETI.

TH. NEGRI.—*The Secretary of State.*

